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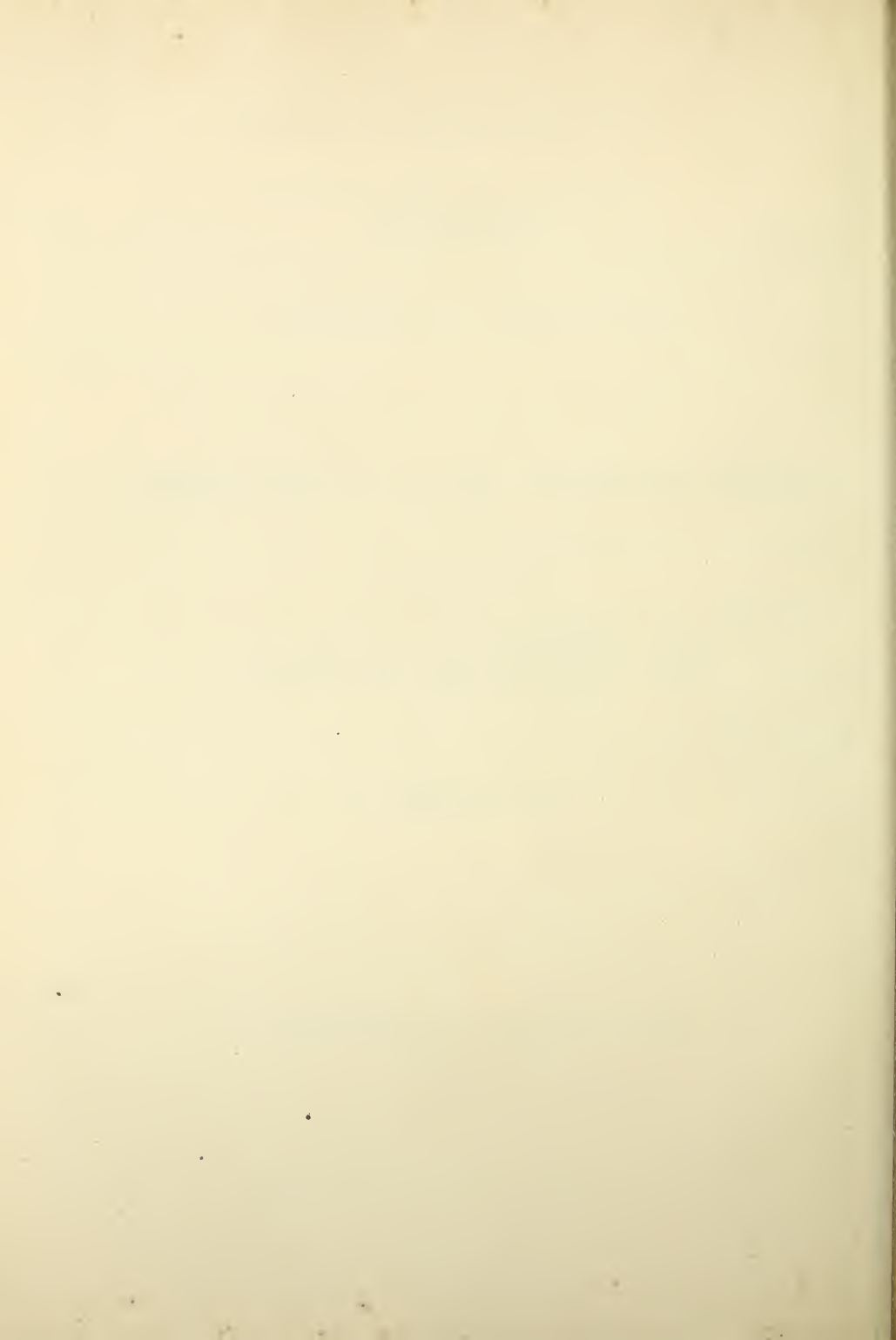
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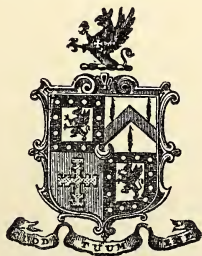
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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN laying before the Members a Fourth Volume of the MISCELLANIES, the Council of the CHETHAM SOCIETY have the satisfaction of announcing that materials are already in preparation for a Fifth; and they take this opportunity of inviting contributions from the Members and other persons interested in antiquarian pursuits. They may repeat what they have already expressed in their Advertisement to their First Volume, that nothing which tends to throw light on the habits, customs, and institutions of our race can be uninteresting to those who make mankind their study. Thus old wills, letters, deeds, authentic examples of early heraldry, materials for elucidating topography, or family, county, and general history, examples of the progress of language and of the arts, may each and all find their appropriate places in these Volumes.

Any persons desirous to further the objects which the Society propose in the publication of Miscellanies, are requested by the Council to entrust their contributions to the care of the President, JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq., F.S.A., 2, Cavendish Place, All Saints', Manchester; or the Honorary Secretary, R. H. WOOD, Esq., F.S.A., Crumpsall, Manchester.



From the Portrait at Wincham Hall.



GENERAL ROBERT VENABLES.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
GENERAL ROBERT VENABLES,
OF
ANTROBUS AND WINCHAM, CHESHIRE
(WITH AN ENGRAVING FROM HIS PORTRAIT AT WINCHAM);
TOGETHER WITH THE
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA OR DIARY
OF HIS WIDOW,
ELIZABETH VENABLES.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF
LEE P. TOWNSHEND, Esq.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXXI.



INTRODUCTION.

THE following account of general Venables and autobiographical memoranda of Elizabeth Venables were obligingly contributed for the purpose of this volume of miscellanies, through the kind intervention of the rev. Henry Green of Knutsford, by the late LEE P. TOWNSHEND, esq., by whose permission also the engraving from the portrait of the general at Wincham was made to accompany it. Since these papers were in type the much-regretted death of this gentleman, in the 67th year of his age has taken place. It occurred on the 16th May 1871, and on the 20th following his remains were interred in the family vault at Great Budworth. He had, amongst other important situations, for the twelve years previous filled the onerous office of chairman of Quarter Sessions of Cheshire to the satisfaction of every one, and for his public merits not less than for his private excellencies of character was universally respected and esteemed. His lamented decease has left a place vacant in the county which it will be very difficult in all respects adequately to supply.

In addition to the notices of general or, as he is more frequently styled, colonel Venables, which Mr. Townshend has given, it may be well for those who feel interested in the history of the disastrous expedition to Hispaniola to consult the "Memoir" prefixed to the elegant reprint of Venables's *Experienced Angler*, published by Prowett in 1825, 12mo, and the account of it there given from a contemporary manuscript. Of the last thirty years of the general's life his little book on Angling affords almost the only trace. They were doubtless spent in quiet seclusion in the country, far from "war or battle's sound;" but is not the encomiastic address of Isaac Walton itself worth a victory?

J. C.

PEDIGREE

OF

GENERAL ROBERT VENABLES.

Azure two bars argent, in chief two mullets of the second.

1. Gilbert Venables, lord and baron of Kinderton, temp. William the Conqueror.
2. — Venables, son of Gilbert Venables, baron of Kinderton.
3. Gilbert Venables, baron of Kinderton.
4. Hugh Venables, son of Gilbert Venables, baron of Kinderton.
5. William Venables, baron of Kinderton.
6. Sir Roger Venables, baron of Kinderton.
7. Sir William Venables, married Margery, daughter of Thomas Dutton, 1254.
8. Sir Hugh Venables, married Agnes, daughter of Randle Vernon.
9. Hugh Venables, married Katherine, daughter of Richard Langton.
10. Richard Venables, third son of Hugh Venables, married Joan, daughter and heiress of Hamon Fytton, lord of Bollin; had issue.
11. John Venables, married Katherine, daughter and heir to Roger Morley, and relict of William Stanley of Stretton.
12. Thomas Venables purchased the manor of Antrobus.
13. Robert Venables, married Elizabeth, daughter of P. Warburton of Arley.
14. Piers Venables, married Isabell, daughter of Thomas Legh of West hall.
15. Robert Venables, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Coldenstock, Whitley.
16. George Venables of Crewe, third son of Robert Venables of Antrobus, married Jane, daughter of — Thickness, a younger son of — Thickness of But-terley.
17. Robert Venables of Crewe, married —, daughter of Richard Symcock, co. Salop; had issue Thomas, ob. s.p.
18. Robert Venables repurchased the lordship and manor of Antrobus and Winsham; married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Rudyard of Rudyard, co. Stafford, and had issue
 - Thomas, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lee of Darnhall, s.p.
 - Robert, John and Peter, all s.p.
 - Frances, married Thomas Lee of Darnhall, esq. Hence the Lees of Winsham.

SOME ACCOUNT OF

GENERAL ROBERT VENABLES.

ROBERT VENABLES of Antrobus and Wincham was the eighteenth in direct descent from Gilbert Venables, lord and baron of Kinderton in the time of William the Conqueror.

Antrobus was purchased from Henry Antrobus in the reign of Henry VI. by Thomas Venables, nephew of sir William Venables of Bollin, whose descendants made Antrobus hall their dwelling place for many generations.

At the breaking out of the Civil war Robert Venables held the rank of captain in one of the regiments of the Parliament. In the battle of Westoughton common, on the 16th December 1642, he was made a prisoner, but he must have been soon released, for on the 18th July following, when sir William Brereton came against Chester with nine troops of horse and ten companies of foot, captain Venables commanded one of the latter. In 1645 he was governor of Tarvin; and in a paper amongst the Harleian MSS., partly in his hand-writing, he has left an account of his other services in Cheshire, and an account of his arrears of pay from 1643 to 1646. In May 1646 he was employed in bringing the Welsh into subjection.

The following autograph letter from Cromwell to captain Crowther, vice-admiral of Irish seas, which is now preserved at Wincham, supplies an addition to Cromwell's letters :

Sr,

I received both of y^{rs} this morning, and cannot but acknowledge your greate forwardness to serve the publique. I have here inclosed, sent you an order for the takeing up of vessells for the transporting of soldiers, and the oates of the horses. My men shall be at the water-side tomorrow.

If they can provide victualls they shall. If not, I shall give you notice, that wee may bring it out of y^r vessells.

Sr,

I remayne

y^r very humble servant

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Cardif

May y^e 16th

1648.

In 1649, when the regiments were allotted for Ireland, the lot fell on colonel Venables's regiment. He was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Ulster, and governor of Belfast, Antrim and Lisnegarvey. Landing in Ireland, he was engaged in the battle fought near Dublin on the 2nd August 1649, when the Irish generals, lord Ormonde and lord Inchiquin, were put to flight and thousands of their forces slain. For his services on this occasion, an honourable certificate from the College of arms, Dublin, signed by Albon Levret, Athlone herald, was granted to him.

On the 10th October in the same year he routed a force of eight hundred horse, which had been sent against him by the earl of Ormonde. He returned from Ireland on the 22nd April 1654, and on the 7th December following a privy seal was issued, granting a sum of 1000*l.* to him and to colonel Heane, which was no doubt in recompense for their services in Ireland, where colonel Venables had also acted as a commissioner for reporting on the government of that kingdom.

In 1654 the Protector caused a fleet to be prepared, consisting of about thirty ships and a convenient number of transports, under the command of admirals Penn and Goodson. The command of the land forces was committed to Venables, with rank of general, who, as well as the admiral, was a secret friend to the king. The troops consisted of about five thousand men, many of them Royalists, and the rest so little satisfied with Cromwell's administration that one great end of this expedition was to get rid of them: the ostensible object of it was to attack Hispaniola and other Spanish possessions in the West Indies. General Venables's manuscript account of the expedition, with the musters of his army, is preserved at Wincham. The general says:

Coming out of Ireland (where I had been for some years engaged with the Right Hon^{ble} the Lord Broughill now Earle of Orrery) to consult with those in England, about the Irish affairs, the Protector, as he was then termed, told me he intended me for another employment, and after some time, discovered that it was a Western voyage to the Spanish Plantations, thus farre satisfying me, upon my scrupling, of the justice of the undertaking. That if wee had noe peace with the Spanyard there, this could be noe breach of the Peace, if we had Peace with them, they had broken it, and then it was but just for the English to seek reparation. After this the designe was at a stand, and I thought wholly waved, for about five months space, when I suddainly was again called to undertake it. I desired, after some proposalls respecting myself, by a particular under my hand, that armes, ammunitions, and other necessaryes suitable to the designe and distance of the place, should be provided, and further moved, that I might not be bounded and streightened in Commission and instructions, which at that distance, contingencyes not being possible to be foreseen, serve only as fetters, and greaten difficulties. I had a satisfactory answer to all, but how performed shall be hereafter declared.

When I and the officers made some proposalls for the more advantageous carrying on, as we conceived, of the service intended, we were so moderate in the matters of our own concernment, that, I dare say, never any men undertook so hard and desperate a work upon so

meane and low condition ; to let the world see, it was the promotion of religion, and the service of our country, which were chiefly in our aime, yet four months were spoilt in attendance to our great charge, before we had any positive resolve ; whether the designments went on or noe : though it was become so publick as to be the subject of common discourse ; whereby the Enemy had had timely notice to prepare for us, as we found they did, with much prudence and circumspection.

Being informed the provisions intended for us were unsound, I made complaint thereof, but mett with reproof instead of redress ; the person concerned to amend it, being but too nearly concerned also in the profit of it, I earnestly moved to have the Soldiers, that were to goe with us rayased out of the Irish army, seasoned I knew with hardship and danger, but that was utterly rejected. Then I desired to have such as of themselves were willing to goe, which was promised, but contrarily those that freely offered themselves were put back, and punished, and generally the most abject in all companies, and raw fellows that were purposely taken in to save their old standers, were given out for us by the officers : and these wanted 500 of the number promised me, and almost half their armes were defective, and altogether unserviceable, wherewith although the Councill was acquainted, yet were we not permitted to stay to certifie it — Nay, not, which I strongly pressed, to exercise the men, and try what they were ; but the Officers and myself were threatened to be imprisoned, if they staid in the city but till the next day ; so that some were compelled to leave their necessaries behind them, which they could never after procure to be brought to them ; all carriages being denied to them, which were allowed to all other Officers in the three nations. I then moved to have a general rendezvous, that I might see the officers and soldiers together the better to judge of their fitness and abilities, and was promised it should be at Portsmouth. But before I could come thither some were shipped and sent away, and all were reproached for not shipping faster than wind, Tyde and boats would allow. When I made it my earnest motion to have our store ships with us, I was promised they should meet us at Portsmouth, and there I was told they would be with us before we left Barbadoes. Thus in all my designes and proposalls for necessaryes I was answered with scoffs, or unperformed promises ; as desiring to have Targets, the want whereof after experience taught us to lament ; because the country was woody, we

had first a jest told us, and then a denyall ; instead of Ministers to the six Regiments I pressed for ; the like number of black Cloaks were offered. I was promised ten months provision for Ten thousand men, but instead of having it put on board with me, it was sent to London to the store ships, in pretence for want of room ; and yet the Officers of the Navy took in commodities to trade with at Barbadoes. To which island we arrived Jan^y 29. 1655. — the next day we betook ourselves to our business according to our instructions but found things soe contrary to our expectations and other's promises that Caused me to write to the then Councill of State.

But no attention was paid to the general's remonstrance ; and what was worse, he found admiral Penn not very willing to afford him what assistance was in his power. Venables expostulated with him in vain. It was, however, too late to look back, and besides, numbers of volunteers resorted to Barbadoes from all our plantations, in hopes to share the riches to be taken from the Spaniards ; so that Venables was obliged to proceed, though satisfied he was in no condition for it. From Barbadoes the fleet sailed on the last day in March to St. Christopher's, where they met with more volunteers ; so that when they sailed for Hispaniola Venables had near ten thousand men. They were, however, in the worst temper that could be ; for most of them had entered with a view of making their fortunes, but were informed by the commissioners (though Venables was one, he differed from all the others) that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. At St. Domingo the men mutinied, and after suffering heavy loss (amongst others Venables's old companion in arms general Heane), the army was obliged to re-embark. At a council of war it was decided to attack Jamaica, where they landed on the 3rd May ; in a short time the Spaniards surrendered, and the island has been in the possession of the British ever since. There was not then a single aboriginal in the island, the Spaniards having extirpated

the whole of the Caribs about the year 1555. Penn and Venables both resigned their commands ; the former to admiral Goodson, and the latter to general Fortescue. On their arrival in England, in September 1655, they were both committed close prisoners to the Tower. The Protector, however, offered to release them on confessing their faults and making submission, which Penn readily did ; but Venables refused, insisting his instructions permitted him to resign. He was, however, liberated, and in 1656 was one of the commissioners for rating an assessment for the county of Chester. His memory has been falsely and unjustly treated ; for the fault lay with the Protector's scheme, which was to have raised a large supply for his empty coffers from this expedition ; for which reason he obliged the commissioners to prevent the soldiers from keeping their plunder on pain of death, and their insisting on this nearly ruined the whole undertaking.

In August 1659 general Venables favored sir George Booth's rising, and lay ready to seize Chester for the king. In March following he was entrusted by general Monk with the government of Chester castle. The following is an extract from a letter from chancellor Hyde, dated Breda, April 22nd, 1660 :

I am very glad that Colonel Venables is Governor of Chester, of whose affections the King hath not the least doubt ; yet I have thought to ask you a question concerning him long ; whether he be of the Independent party in point of religion, which I have heard confidently averred by some, who have great Kindness for him, and assurance of his affection for the King, and together with that a great opinion of his parts and understanding, which methinks should hardly consist with the other.

After the Restoration, if the design had not been hindered, the king, at the instance of Dr. John Barwick, would have bestowed upon him some mark of his royal favor.

In 1662 he published the first edition of his *Experienced Angler*,

which has been frequently reprinted since. The first edition is prefaced by the following commendatory letter from Isaac Walton :

To His Ingenious friend the Author
of his Angling improved.

Honoured Sir.

Though I never to my knowledge had the happiness to see your face, yet accidentally coming to a view of this discourse before it went to the Press, I held myself obliged in point of gratitude for the great advantage I received thereby to tender you my particular acknowledgment, especially having been for thirty years past, not onely a Lover, but a practiser of that innocent recreation, wherein by your judicious precepts, I found myself fitted for a higher form, which expression I take the boldness to use, because I have read and practised by many books of this kind, formerly made publick, from which although I received much advantage in the practice, yet, without prejudice to their worthy authors, I could never find in them that height of judgement and Reason, which you have manifested in this, as I may call it, Epitome of Angling. Since reading whereof, I cannot look upon some notes of my own gathering, but methinks I do *puerilia tractare*. But lest I should be thought to go about to magnifie my own judgement, in giving yours so small a portion of its due, I humbly take leave with no more ambition but to kiss your hand, and to be accounted your
humble thankful servant

ISAAC WALTON.

In 1664 general Venables, whose religious views inclined to the Independents, was denounced by the government as having secretly promoted the rising in Yorkshire, commonly known as the Farnley wood plot.

General Venables married first Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Rudyard of Rudyard co. Stafford, by whom he had issue : Thomas, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lee of Darnhall, esq., s.p. ; Robert, John and Peter, all s.p. ; Frances, married Thomas Lee of Darnhall, esq. The general married secondly

Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Lee of Darnhall, esq., and daughter of Samuel Aldersey.

General Venables died in 1687, having settled his estates in Antrobus and Wincham on his grandson Robert, second son of Thomas Lee of Darnhall and of his daughter Frances.

MEMORANDA OF
MRS. ELIZABETH ALDERSEY,

WIFE TO THOMAS LEE OF DARNHALL, ESQ.,

AFTERWARDS

SECOND WIFE OF GENERAL VENABLES.

WROTE BY HERSELF.

THE great and many experiences, I have had of God's great love and wisdom in ordering all for my good, though I must say with the blessed Apostle, *Heb: 12. v. 11, Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous, nevertheless it afterwards yieldeth the peaceable fruit of Righteousness, unto them that are exercised thereby*, it causeth me to write the following lines, that both my children, whom indeed it most concerns, and also any into whose hands they may fall, may learn to trust in God, and I shall say with the good Prophet Samuel, *Ch: 12. v. 22, For the Lord will not forsake his People, for his great Name's sake, because it hath pleased the Lord to make you his People*, it is his free love and goodness, not any thing of desert, that causeth him to take care of me, both in guidance and preservation through many great hazards and difficulties — First — In bringing me into a land where the Gospel flourished, and [placing] me under a choice minister, though I confess to my sorrow, I did not walk answerable to that mercy.

Secondly — For giving me that great blessing of religious Parents, that tooke a tender and religious care of me from my youth, and it pleased God to take away my dear and tender

Mother, she was indeed one of a thousand, yet God so guided my Father,* that he was extraordinary kind to us, and careful in the disposing of Himself to a Gentlewoman that feared God, who was indeed kind to his children.

And when it pleased God after many Motions, to bring him whom God in his wisdom had appointed for mee, notwithstanding there was much opposition in my Spirit against the Person, Place and Condition, yet at last, with the persuasion of my Father, and the Providence I saw in the business, I condescended, and when as we thought all things were concluded, there happened a great breach between our Parents, which proved sad, in regard of our affection. And such was my Father's love towards me, that he said, If I did desire it, he would accomplish it with as much advantage to me, as he could, tho' it cost him extraordinary. I said, No. I would neither seeke it, nor desire it, but wait on God in it; if He might have honour by it, I did not doubt but he would bring it to pass; and make his Father willing to condescend to what conditions my Father propounded. It was indeed my daily Prayers, that if God might have glory, I did desire it might be accomplished, If not, I was content to be denied it. But what comfort this submission to God's will brought mee, in the times of great crosses and afflictions none can judge, but they who have had the like experience. It did so support me under all tryal, with confidence that God would in his goodness bring me through them, which to his praise I acknowledge with much thankfulness, he did, and wrought many strange and great deliverances for me and mine, That mine may learn to trust in our God, that hath done so wonderfully for us, and be thereby stirred up to labour to walk in some measure answerable to those mercies, and obey all his commands as children obey their Parents.

It was no small comfort to me, that I did not, by my own

* Samuel Aldersey of London, son of John Aldersey, a younger son to Aldersey of Aldersey and Spurstow, in Cheshire.

fond affection, draw trouble and sorrow upon myself, though my Father's love was such [that] he having persuaded me to a compliance with Mr. Lee, did offer to accomplish it for me. But my answer was, that my affection should not overrule his judgement, for he knew what was best for mee, and most pleasing to himself. He took it so kindly from mee, that he expressed much affection to mee, and gave me thanks, saying, the fault was in himself, that had by his persuasion drawn me into it, and he would make it as good a match as he could, if I desired it. But I did judge it my duty to be guided by him. I wonder what comfort disobedient children find, that dare to marry contrary to their Parents commands. Surely when they meet with crosses and afflictions, it must needs add to their sorrow, to consider they have drawn it upon themselves, and greatly sinned against God's commands. I hope God will keep mine from that transgression, [else] I believe I should never look upon them. The Lord keep them, and help them to walk humbly with my God.

When wee were married, I staid with my Father half a year. Then my Father brought me into Cheshire, and also good Mr. Ford with me. He did live in the house about three years; he was indeed a great comfort to me, and brought much honor to God. I was a Tabler to my Father-in-law* five years. I bless God I did so carry myself that I gave them no discontent, tho' I met with many cross passages. I confess the dear and tender love of my ever honored husband was such to me, that I could bear any thing for his sake. And I believe those that knew our loving living together, can testify, that my affection was not short of his. But it so happened that my Father-in-law had much occasion to use money, and drew my dear Husband into great engagements for him, which when it was passed my Husband did acquaint me with, as a thing which did much burthen his thoughts, fearing it would prove a wrong to me and mine,

* Henry Lee; he sold Lea to Henry Delves, esq., afterwards a baronet of Doddington, and built the house at Darnhall. A tabler is one who boards with another.

desiring me that I would not be troubled at it, and he would promise me, whatsoever came of it, he would deny his Father, in case he should again ask him to be further engaged for him. Which in a short time he did, requiring him to be bound for him for 200*l*. My dear Husband* according as he promised me, denied him. Then there arose great discontent, and we must be turned off to live of ourselves, and the conditions made at the Marriage not performed, which wee patiently bore, my own dear Father being dead. But to House we must, and that at an unfit season of the year. My Father-in-law would not suffer us to stay a month longer, though we were willing to pay for our table as we had done, yet must not stay, but with many unkind passages, compelled to go at our Lady Day, which I shall spare to express. But all this was a great Providence to us.

It taught us to rely upon God, and also to live according to the Estate, that God in his Mercy was pleased to allot us, which was six score pounds a year. We did furnish ourselves with what necessaries we needed, and bought all for ourselves and four children. Yet I blessed God, we lived very contentedly, and when my Father-in-law died, we were but three score pounds in debt. But at his death, his actions, and my dear Husband's engagements for him, fell sad upon us, that had not our good God raised extraordinary friends, and also supported our spirits in a more than ordinary Manner, wee might have sunk under the burden. My Husband was bound for his Father for 800*l*., and there was above 100*l*. to pay, and had made an Annuity of 12*l*. a year out of my jointure, and had mortgaged 100*l*. a year for the payment of 430*l*. to Mrs. Dorothy Starkey, and had made a lease of the Town Tythe for Security for 100*l*. He also made an annuity to Mr. Boyer of 40 Markes a year. All this was done before my marriage, but not discovered until after his death. At which time God's Providence wonderfully appeared for us. He lay sick but 24 hours. He sent for my

* Thomas Lee, son and heir to his father, Henry Lee of Darnhall, esq.

Husband and mee : when wee came he was moved by a friend to make his will. He answered, He had nothing to make a will of, but said, Do you know, you stand engaged for me ; and Swanley land is not enstated upon you ; but I freely give it to you to discharge your engagement. So he continued very ill ; night drew on, and He being worse, and no better, My Dear resolved to watch with him ; but by no means would he suffer him to stay, having no lodging in the house, commanded him to go home ; but willed him to leave me with him, saying I could do him some service. I seeing him so ill, persuaded Mr. Lee to write to two friends of mine to come to us in the morning, to advise us what to do, in case he should die ; for I feared sad things would befall us. He was very unwilling to write, believing he might recover, but still I prest him, and did at last over intreat him ; So he wrote, and sent, which did prove a great Mercy to us.

So Mr. Lee went home, and left me with him. About midnight he was so ill, that I said to those that were about him, he would not continue long, asking his man Humphrey Ridgway, that had long served him, whether he could tell, where my Father-in-law had disposed of the writings that did concern my Husband's Estate. One reason, that caused me to ask this question, was, because my Father-in-law had not long before removed his dwelling. His man answered they would be found at one of the two houses. I said, I would ask him ; by no means, said he, do not trouble him with such a question. But truly my purpose was, to entreat my dear Husband, that he should meddle with nothing of his Father's, lest He were made liable thereby to pay his debts, which made me desire to know, where the writings of our Estate were, that wee needed not to search any further into His.

So I took occasion to ask him whether he desired to speak with my Husband, if he did, I would send for him. He said, by no means, but gave him, me, and mine his blessing heartily, wishing it were in his power to express his love by doing some-

thing for us, but with many a deep sigh, said, He had it not ; so that I believe he was both sensible and sorry for the wrong he had done me in the mortgage of part of my jointure, and the great engagements upon my Husband. Then I asked him where the writings that concerned our Estate were, He very willingly told me, Some of them are in my closet here, And the rest at Darnhall. But said He those writings that concern Swanley land, are in the hands of Mr. Burroughs, in this town, there you may have them. Which if he had not discovered, wee had lost the benefit of that land ; which did somewhat help my Husband, for he sold it, and paid part of his Father's debts, not one Penny of it did he enjoy, but paid 1000*l.* more than that was sold for.

I desire to remember God's Providence in discovering the writings, for within a day after wee had the writings, came one Hughes of London, to enquire for the writings at Mr. Burroughs's, and said, that he was to have that Land and writings put into his hands for security for money, my Father-in-law having brought them to Mr. Burroughs, but four days before his death, for such purpose, as they said. Which business caused a suit between Hughes and my Husband, that was chargeable. But God was gracious in freeing us from the prejudice of it, and clearing my upright Husband's innocency. For he had the writings by his Father's own action, in telling me where they were, as is before expressed ; who suddenly died within two hours after.

So I went home to my dear Husband who was truly sad at the news, both in regard of his natural affection, and also for the trouble, which he feared might come upon him ; as indeed it did. Some I have before mentioned, but many unkindnesses from his own friends, which I shall spare to express. Only one, wherein, if God had not been very good and gracious to me and mine, wee had been undone for the things of the world, and it was an act of my Husband's own Mother.*

* Eleanor, daughter of Hugh brother to sir George Calveley of Lea.

At my marriage my Mother-in-law's jointure was altered, because I was to have an interest in the house, as well as she which she was content of. But after the death of her Husband, there fell some trouble upon a part of her jointure, as well as mine. So she endeavoured to relinquish her last joynture, and lay claim to that which was made at her marriage; denying that she had ever done any thing to confirm her Husband's act in making my joynture, and releasing her former. So wee were forced to prove it, and searching the Records at Chester, found a fine acknowledged before the Judge of Assize, wherein was her consent. So our God in his good Providence freed us from the fear of the loss of all our Estate. For could my Mother-in-law have done what she attempted, the Estate had been left so at large that it had been liable to all my Father-in-law's engagements, which were so many, that had we sold our Estate, it would not have done much more than paid them. So I and my poor children had been ruined, had not God made good his promises, in taking care of those that are not pitied; and to declare his goodness to me and mine, I express these Passages. And indeed they are sufficient reasons to move us to cast ourselves and our affairs upon Him that hath dealt so mercifully with us, to provide a subsistance for us, when in probability wee might have lived all our days, and never had a free enjoyment, nor ever have been able to provide for our children. For besides the annuities and mortgages before mentioned there were twelve score pound a year to be paid in two joyntures to my Husband's Mother* and Grandmother; † which [who] within two years of the death of my Father-in-law both deceased, and we[were] freed from that payment, and so enabled to live more comfortably— But within a year after that, God was pleased to shake my foundation, which indeed was built on the sand; for expecting comfort from the mutable creature, I had sad experience that what is subject

* Eleanor, daughter of Hugh Calveley of Lea.

† Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Coppinger of Buxhall, co. Suffolk.

to changes, proves an uncertain prop to rest on. For though the enjoyment of choice friends is one of the greatest outward comforts, yet wee find some willingly deceiving us by baseness of heart, and others unwillingly leaving us by death. I cannot say my dear Husband unwillingly left mee, for he cheerfully resigned himself; and indeed made it one of his chiefest requests to mee, that I would be content to part with him, knowing it was his gain, to receive a crown of Glory, and a place of rest, and to be freed from a life of sin and sorrow. For Death sets an end to the miseries, with which the life of Nature is loaden, and the life of Grace molested. He did with much thankfulness bless God, that had let him live to see his Estate so settled and quieted, that he left me a free estate to bring up those seven children* he committed to my charge. He would not be persuaded to make any will, but still replied he was so confident of my love and care, that he only and wholly trusted mee. Nor would he suffer any creature to hear a word he expressed to me, concerning his desire of the things belonging either to his estate or children.

But when others spoke to him, still said, Nothing troubles me, but my wife's sorrow; if she were but content to part with me, I am confident she will do better without mee, for she is able to manage what I leave to her trust, for I doubt not her care and faithfulness. The reason why he thought I would do better without him, was because I was like to be free from the suits, he was molested with at that time. He had a suit with Mr. Savage, which was occasioned by the land my dear Husband sold, before mentioned. But that suit was sadly ended, in regard of the great loss of my most dear and precious Husband. His

* Samuel, died unmarried; Thomas, married Frances daughter of general Venables, whence the Lees of Darnhall and Wincham; Mary, married George Huxley of Huxley; Margaret, married Thomas Aldersey, whence the family of Aldersey of Aldersey; Anne, died unmarried—will proved at Chester, September 5th, 1676; Elizabeth, married Thomas, son of general Venables, s.p.; Martha, died unmarried, 1653.

death set a period to it, it should have been tried that day he was buried.*

The bonds were 700*l.* or 800*l.*, and it was believed we should have sustained the damage, had his life been spared. And had my God been pleased to continue so sweet a mercy to me, I should chearfully have undergone all other tryals and troubles. But that indeed was sad to me, and still is, for I had as great a loss of a Wise, Gracious, Upright, Gentleman in all his actions, and a most tender, loving Husband, as ever woman had. And it pleased God to take him from me in the beginning of these sad times, that I may well say with the Prophet, That the righteous are taken away from the evil to come. Indeed he had been unfit to deal with the Men of these times, for he made it his practice, to do as he would be done unto; I am able to say, he did strictly walk by that divine rule. For when he had any bargains to make with Tenants or other persons, he would say to me—Sweetheart, I will consider, what the bargain would be to me, if I must [had to] take it; so should he have it of me. I trust his Righteousness will be rewarded to his—And it is my daily Prayers [that] they may walk in his steps. It is one chief comfort of my writing these lines, that they may read and learn to keep close to God in all their ways; then they may with confidence expect his protection, and doubt not but [to] obtain the like experience, if he bring them to the like in any kind of tryal or trouble. I am sure I may speak it to the praise of his great Name, that never had any [one] more experience of God's power and goodness in his Fatherly care over me, and my seven Fatherless ones, when we had none to care for us. For when my chief comfort was gone, that brought me into his country, and then left me, far from my friends, a stranger in miserable times, for he died in Easter week 1642.* then had we been married just ten years, yet did God in a special manner take care of me, though I had many and great enemies. But still remem-

* Mr. Lee died 1642, aged 30.

ber to cast yourselves on God in all times of straits, or look for no deliverance from him. Many of my friends did persuade me, to leave my Being, and return from whence I came, in regard of my sad and alone living, my seven children being all young, the eldest but eight years old; so that they were not fit to administer a word of comfort to me, but cause of much grief to look upon so many Fatherless infants; yet because they were emblems of my ever honoured Husband, and might be instruments of God's praise, I could not but bless God for them, and endeavour to the utmost of my ability to act for their good; which made me withstand the persuasion of my friends to return to London, believing that my estate might be much damnified in my absence, and then my children must needs be the losers. Yet such was the violence of rude soldiers, that I confess I was in a great strait what to do. But the persuasion of my cousin *Done** so far prevailed, that I went with her to my cousin *Arderne*,† where I was for almost a quarter of a year. My God only knows with what tears and sighs I did seek him, and beseech him to guide me what to do, and not suffer me to go further than his presence might go before me. So I found some encouragement by the persuasion and company of my cousin *Crew*,‡ his wife and my cousin *Done*; to whom I was much bound, for their great love. Desirous they were of my company, friendly promising I should want nothing they could help me to. I confess it was their goodness, not my desert. But venture I did, and towards London we went two days journey. But I found it a hard matter to carry the Body, and leave the Heart behind. For still my thoughts were unquiet, and mine affections with my children, looking back to the place where God had cast my lot, and there I knew he would preserve me. And indeed I was confident, if he saw it good

* Jane, daughter of sir John Done of Utkington and Flaxyards.

† Ralph Arderne married Eleanor, daughter of sir John Done.

‡ Mary, second daughter of sir John Done, married John, second son of sir Randle Crew.

for me, he would make his power manifest in keeping me and mine and my enjoyments from all dangers, or Sons of violence. Or if he in his wisdom saw it fit to suffer my enemies to deprive me of any of the favours he had bestowed upon me, he could give me content without them, and make up my loss with abundance of himself. Oh! his satisfying presence speaks rest and peace to the soul; and gives content to the greatest troubles. Then remembering God's allsufficiency, and the great experience I had had of it; and that not a hair of our heads could fall to the ground without our Father's Providence; I resolved confidently to trust in him, and not by diffidency to dishonour him.

These considerations made me turn back to my cousin Arden, where I was very kindly entertained. I desire that I and mine, with much thankfulness may ever acknowledge their love. But this did not give rest to my Spirit, but Home I must, and did go. I confess that there was an extraordinary hand of divine Providence in it, for good to me and mine. For had I gone to London my Estate had been ruined. Neither could I ever have seen so much of God, which would have been the greatest loss. Oh, that I could express the praise due to his great and glorious name. He did from time to time preserve me miraculously, not only restrain my enemies, but discover secret ones. For at my first coming home I discovered a most unfaithful servant, that did wrong me, and would have robbed me of much more, had I longer trusted him. But I parted with him, and took the care myself, and by God's assistance was enabled to go through all difficulties cheerfully. And his power still appeared in overpowering mine enemies.

Once there came a party of Horse, with a purpose, as they themselves acknowledged, for one of the Gentlemen that commanded the Party, protested in the hearing of myself and servants, that he never went to any place with a more violent resolution to do mischief, and striking his hand upon his breast, said, Something restrains me, and commands me I shall do nothing. Upon which, I told him, he might take notice of

God's Power, for it was His act. And also that David's words were verified, Psalm 76: 10, *Surely the rage of man shall turn to thy praise ; surely the remnant of rage shalt thou restrain.*

I did assure him, it was the desire of my heart to give God the praise ; neither would I be so ungrateful to omit the thanks due to him for his respective [respectful] carriage. Truly it is admirable how God appeared that day, in his goodness to me. This Gentleman and his company staid till another company came, which, he kept from coming in[to] the house, and would not suffer them to wrong me, but said, there was nothing for them, he had found and taken what was to be had, and so caused them to go back. It was his excuse to prevent others from acts of violence, for he had not taken any thing from me, and at my request, spared all the honest men in the Lordship.

One passage I may not omit, that is very remarkable, that God did plead my cause, and take vengeance for me. A tenant, that gave them information of all he knew, and more than I thought he had known (I believe I was betrayed by a servant that told him) and he told them, what I had done for the Parliament's service, and what Arms and Horses I had, and where I hid my best things, with my writings. This knave they plundered, though he was at that time in their Garrison on their service. The Gentleman said, he did deserve hanging that would betray me. When I requested him to spare the man's goods, he wished me not to speak for him, for it was that villain that had informed against me, and if he had him there he would make him an example to others, with many respective expressions to me, which I shall spare ; and wished me to remove them, and elsewhere to secure them ; for the knave had discovered them, and they might be taken by others.

These passages gave me to see so much of God's love and goodness, that I did chearfully stay at mine own house, notwithstanding many troubles ; as in the Namptwitch siege, when I was preserved by a miracle of God's mercy ; and also with me some of God's people, that came after the routing of our army

at Middlewich, which could not get past the Enemy's army to any place of safety ; our God kept us all together in safety. And much comfort we had in being together, for wee did neither lose time nor opportunity, wherein wee might seek God. I lost some cattle at that siege, but nothing out of my house.

Another time I was very ill plundered on the Lord's day, they took all they could lay their hands on ; some cheese, all kinds of Provisions, Beds and clothes. Had I been at home, something might have been saved. But I bless God, my loss and absence did not trouble me, because I was discharging my duty in the way of God's worship, which are the chief channels that God doth let out the chief of his mercies through the Hearts of his people. So that my thoughts were well quieted, and my confidence strengthened, saying with Solomon, Prov: 10: 28, *The patient abiding of the righteous shall be gladness, but the hope of the wicked shall perish.*

And indeed God was pleased to let me see a full victory over his church's Enemies, yet so as to keep his people in fear. For there are still some that endeavour to disturb our Peace ; though they have not, and I trust never will prevail to bring the people of God into a servile condition. It is the wisdom of our God, to keep us under a cloud ; should we enjoy a full sunshine of his favour in a prosperous outward Estate, it might puff us up, and make us too confident of our own strength, and so forget to beg his assistance, and thereby cause his Highness to withdraw his satisfying presence from our souls, which is better than life. I can speak by experience, that a condition of fear is most benefit for our spiritual estate ; it causes us often to make our addresses to the throne of Grace ; and to seek God's favour and assistance, and also to shelter under the shadow of his wings ; there may we be safe.

It hath been my allotment many years, ever to be under some fear or tryal, I confess it hath been of good use unto me, made me stick closer to God in all my ways. And I bless his name for it, I have seen more of his love in that estate than

many others. For I may truly say with David, Psalm 94: 19, *In the multitude of the thoughts of my heart, thy comforts have rejoiced my soul*, and I trust will do to my dying day. But I do, and ever will expect some crosses, that may still wean me from the Love of the world. Though God has graciously mixed trials which were bitter with some sweets which afford much contentment. For He hath not only given me a free competent enjoyment, but great hopes, that those of my own bowels may be instruments of his praise, and also enlarge the kingdom of Christ by them. And indeed I see God making up that loss of my dear Husband in a hopeful son; He hath been pleased to give him neat parts of Nature, and an industrious spirit to improve them. I have also great encouragement from those that have the education of him, that God is not wanting in giving a blessing on his endeavours, and so seasoning him with grace, that there is great hopes he may be an instrument of much good in the place where God shall set him. My daily prayers are for his preservation, that God would keep [him] from the vices of these corrupt times, and still guide him in his way, to walk humbly; for God resists the proud, and gives grace to the humble. This I must say for him, he hath with as much obedience, love and respect observed me in all my commands, as ever did son a mother, and indeed hath been as tenderly kind, ever wishing me to do, whatsoever might be most for my comfort and content; [n]or mispent any thing, but ever gave me a true account of what monies he had, or received from me. He is now sixteen years of age; the Lord in tender mercy continue this great blessing to me, and suffer him not to go astray. I know, it is not parts of Nature, nor Parents' instructions, but God's blessing. Paul may plant, Apollos may water, but it is God gives the increase. I can truly say, he is a son of many prayers, and I trust God will make him a son of many graces, in whom I may have much content, and I do with thankfulness confess my condition is very happy.

But now I looked upon myself as a person so settled, that I

had nothing to disturb my peace, so long as I enjoyed the satisfying presence of my God, for which I bless his name ; yet then I met with a business that did exceedingly vex my spirit, the love of a Gentleman* that I durst not but esteem, a very precious servant of God, and in that regard I could not scorn him. Yet himself and some others know I have long slighted him. But that neither satisfied him, nor brought me freedom from the trouble of it. I confess I did see an extraordinary hand of God in it ; which did cause me often to seek God, and desire his guidance : that if he could have any glory by such a change of my condition, he would be pleased to let me see hopes of comfort in it. God only knows the sighs and tears, and prayers this business cost me ; and some there are can testify, it hath been a great perplexity to my spirit. And I said to a friend of mine, that I feared God had given him liberty to disturb my peace. For the truth is, I am very unwilling to change my condition, yet eyeing Providence, and seeing something of God in it, I durst not but in some measure satisfy his desire.

It may be objected : In what I saw such a hand of God ? I may truly answer, I saw God crossing me in many of my undertakings, and in the very chiefest of my comforts. It is too large to repeat, yet I durst not marry him, which caused him to engage in the services of Ireland. The work being God's, I would not stay him. I let him go, though it cost me much and many years sorrow of heart. I often thought, if any thing but well befell him, his children might blame me, and God might repay it to me and mine, because I was conscious I did occasion his going. But then when I considered that nothing could be acted without God's divine Providence, for he rules and overrules all creatures to excellent ends, his own glory, and his people's good, it did something quiet my sad thoughts, and make me rest upon his power and goodness, that the event would be comfortable, his employment being the work of God.

And indeed his great successes speaks content to my spirit, I

* General Venables.

being an occasion of his going, as himself ever professed. And this I may say for him, he was as earnest in his desires, as his lines express, as when we were together. That I have no cause to mistrust his love, yet I had much cause of sadness. For I may truly say, there was never one word of bad news concerning him, but it was brought to me, though it were not true. And then his letters were long before they came to me, and sometimes miscarried, and I did not only hear of his great danger, but often of his death; which I confess caused trouble of Spirit. But it made me consider what an uncomfortable life it was, to have any near relation to one that had such an hazardous employment, and uncertainty of any content. It makes me still to seek God, that it would please him in mercy to free me from the trouble of that business, and give him content, as well as myself. I did often omit returns to his letters; and when I writ, let him know, that if any person in the nation pleased him, he hath my liberty to engage with her, and let me alone: it did not proceed from want of love, but that I might more fully know the will of God. If neglects or sleights would take him off his desires I should know it was the will of God, and in that be well satisfied. For if my heart deceive me not, I do resolve to obey the will of God so far as he shall please to reveal it to me, though it be never so contrary to the judgement of flesh and blood, and if he enable me to obey; for myself I can do nothing, that is agreeable to his will.

Since this former was written, it being a year since, there hath some cross passages fallen out betwixt me and my Friend. Upon which I have resolved never to proceed further, but continue as I was. I confess my engagements to him was before his going into Ireland; what it was is best known to himself. And if he be as willing as myself to bury it in silence, it shall never be repeated. Yet this may I truly say for myself, that since I saw his face I never broke my promise with him, but

have been faithful. Might I have had the greatest advantage in the world either for me or mine, I would not receive the love of any man living. I will not mention what offers I have had, since I parted with him. But I bless the Lord, my heart did not at all go out after them. My present condition is full of contentment, the Lord help me to walk answerable to his free grace and rich love : oh ! peace of conscience is worth the whole world. And that was one reason why I durst not marry my Friend, before his going into Ireland, being fearful to break my promise to my dear Son, that I would not do it. And indeed he was a precious jewel to me, a child of much comfort, yet attended with so many fears of being deprived of him, that he cost me many tears before his death. Others who knew him as well as myself did look upon him as a choice piece, and some letters there are from those, under whose care he was, will justify the truth of it.

But now my God hath seen fit to take him to himself, and no longer to trust me with him. I was happy in him, till he was within a month of eighteen years of age, and then he died at London in the year 1651.* It was not only the great grief of my soul, but [of] many of his friends, and indeed [of] all that knew him. And that is not all. But oh ! it was an unspeakable loss to my dear Husband's family. The Lord in his abundant love make it up in giving graces to those that remain ; that they may be instruments of his praise and glory. I hope my God will be gracious to me in them, though he has sadly afflicted me, in the loss of him that was so dear to me ; and it was not without desert, for he was, I may truly say—one of a thousand. He did never in all his life, disobey my commands, but did with much sweetness submit to whatsoever I thought fit. He was free from any vices, and God had been pleased to give him great parts of nature, and cause I had to believe that God had in mercy sanctified his heart with his Holy Spirit. So that I am confident he is truly happy. Precious soul ! when he lay upon his death-bed, it was my hard hap to be absent at my own house, know-

* Her eldest son Samuel.

ing nothing of his sickness. If I had, I should not have been long from him. But my God saw it not fit to afford me such a liberty. Yet he was pleased to raise him many friends, that were very careful of him, and did what could be done by the help of man. But alas the blessing upon the means was denied. His time was come, and he must, as Job saith, *go to the house appointed for all living*. The dear soul was willing to resign himself; he often called, Oh! my dear Mother; which caused his friends to ask him, if he desired to have any thing expressed to me. He said, Oh! tell her, I am happy—(He thought that would be the greatest satisfaction to me; that I might not mourn, as the Apostle saith, as those without hope)—and present my duty to her, with many thanks for her great love and care. If God had been pleased to spare the life, I would still testify my obedience to her. But entreat her to take the like care of those poor little souls I must leave behind me.—So his love and obedience to me and mine was manifested both in his life and death. Oh, he was a precious jewel to me, and though he was as free from any offensive carriage as any I know, yet did the good soul bewail his infirmities, and inabilities to perform any thing whereby he might obtain Mercy, but in and through Christ our blessed Saviour. I believe none will question it, but I had great cause of sorrow in the unspeakable loss of such a son. And in this affliction God supported me, and indeed was very gracious unto me, that he did not second his stroke, in regard of my repining at his hand. For I did not quietly submit. The Lord I hope will pardon it, and spare *that son** that yet remains, and make him a comfort to me. But such was my sadness and the weakness of my two younger daughters, that I broke up house, and went to live at Chester, that I might have use of the means for the recovery of their health. I went to Chester in May 1653, and that same year in July my daughter Martha died. A very good child, and I believe she is truly happy. She had been many years ill, it was a merciful release

* Thomas Lee.

for her. She did desire to die, saying her life was sad, for want of health, and in heaven she should not only have rest, but should enjoy communion with God and the Saints. The younger daughter had two very ill years at Chester, was quite taken off her feet, insomuch that I feared she would never go again. Yet it pleased God to restore her in a very great measure, and was she not alive, I should speak more of her. But this I must say, that I hope God did her much good by her afflictions, and put her much upon the duty of seeking him. I have heard her myself very secretly when she did not know I was so near to hear her.*

And when I had been two years in Chester it pleased God to bring Mr. Venables out of Ireland, the year 1654, the 22^o day of April. Then was the Plague broken out in Chester, and I was removed with my family to my dear *Cousin Egerton's*,† where God preserved us, praised be his great name. But Mr. Venables and I met. It was his resolve not to release me from my engagement, and [he] sought the accomplishment of it, which we did conclude upon May Day; and then went to London on his business. Our resolve before we parted was, that we should go into Ireland the end of the summer. But I may truly say with the wise man Solomon, Prov. 19: 21, *There are many devices in a man's heart, nevertheless, the council of the Lord, that shall stand.* As also the 10th Prov: 1st and the 9th v., and the 20th of Prov: 29. But our Resolves were not so strongly fixed for Ireland, but our God could and did cross them. And in the time of my Dear being at London, he still writ to me, and treated in his letters, of that we had discoursed of before we parted—which was a double marriage. Betwixt my son‡ and his eldest daughter, *and his son§ to my eldest daughter.* I did in order to his desire,

* Ann Lee died unmarried. Will proved at Chester 5th September 1676.

† Elizabeth, daughter of John Aldersey, married John Egerton of Christleton.

‡ Thomas Lee to Frances Venables; whence the family of Lee of Darnhall and Wincham is descended.

§ Thomas Venables to Elizabeth Lee. She died in Chester s.p. Buried at Bunbury. He died in Dublin 19th February 1657.

send my son to wait upon his daughter. And he sent for his son out of Ireland. And the truth is Mr. Venables had spoke my dear Betty himself in his son's behalf, and had undertaken for his son, that he was a free man, and would, he knew, be ruled by him. But when the son came, it did not prove so. For he was in affection engaged to one in Ireland, that loved him. So our friends on both hands were against it. Oh! it proved a sad business both in the beginning and end of it. To relate the cross and unhandsome passages that fell out in these marriages are not only too tedious to relate, but would be a grief to those that do yet survive; so I shall spare it. But both the couples were married.

After, we were posted out of Ireland and by a very unjust power, and as unfaithfully was my dear Husband dealt withall. Nothing of their promises performed. They pretended the honour of God, and the propagating of the Gospel; But alas! their intention was self honour and riches—and so the design prospered according to their hypocrisy.

Though the heart of Mr. Venables I daresay was right, that the glory of God was his aim, yet the success was very ill; for the work of God was not like to be done by the Devil's instruments. A wicked army* it was, and sent out without arms or provision. Our time of going, and great sufferings, with the acknowledgments of God's great kindness, is expressed in another paper.

[Mrs. Venables died 1689. General Venables died 1687. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Rudyard of Rudyard, co. Stafford, by whom he had issue Thomas, married to Elizabeth Lee; Robert, John and Peter, all s.p.; and Frances, married to Thomas Lee of Darnhall.]

* Expedition to Hispaniola under Penn and Venables.

**A FORME
OF CON:
FESSION**

*Grounded vpon
the ancient Ca-
tholique & Apo-
stolike faith:
Made and com-
posed by the ho-
nourable ladie
the Lady Bridget
D^{ess} Egerton D^{ess}*

A:D: 1636

A
FORME OF CONFESSION

GROUNDLED VPON THE
ANCIENT CATHOLIQUE AND APOSTOLIQUE FAITH.

MADE AND COMPOSED BY THE HONORABLE LADIE
THE LADY BRIDGET EGERTON.

A.D. 1636.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF
SIR PHILIP DE MALPAS GREY EGERTON, BART.,
M. P.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXI.

INTRODUCTION.

THE writer of the following treatise was Bridget, daughter of Arthur lord Grey of Wilton, K.G., late lord deputy of Ireland, by Jane Sibilla, daughter of sir Richard Morison and relict of the earl of Bedford. Descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, famous for their military prowess, for their devotion to the several monarchs under whom they served, and for the ability with which they administered posts of high honour and responsibility to which they were at various times appointed, she became the sole representative of this distinguished family on the death of her brother Thomas lord Grey of Wilton, who, swerving from the path of loyalty and honour, became implicated in the Raleigh plot and being found guilty of conspiracy in 1603 was committed to the Tower where he died on the 6th of July 1614. Her grandfather William lord Grey of Wilton distinguished himself greatly as a military commander both in Scotland and in France, and in consideration of his services was made a knight of the garter in 1557. He died in December 1562.* His son Arthur lord Grey of Wilton, Bridget's father, was also a distinguished soldier, and

* For lord Grey's services see *Hollinshead*; and *Life of William Lord Grey of Wilton*, in the publications of the Camden Society.

accompanied his father in all his services. In the reign of queen Elizabeth he was appointed lord deputy of Ireland (the poet Spenser being his private secretary), and in 1586 was one of the commissioners for the trial of Mary queen of Scots. He subsequently filled many posts of high importance, being celebrated (as Lloyd quaintly observes) for dispatch, resolution and prudence. He also had the dignity of knight of the garter conferred upon him, and died in 1593. In 1609 his daughter Bridget was married to Rowland, eldest surviving son of sir John Egerton of Egerton and Oulton, knight. The settlement on this marriage is in my possession. It is written on three large sheets of parchment and bears date December, 6th of James the first, 1609. It is between John Egerton of the first part, and lady Jane Sibilla Grey, late wife unto Arthur lord Grey, deceased, the right honourable Edward lord Zouche, St. Maur and Cantilupe, and Edward lord Denny of Waltham, of the other part. On the death of his father sir John Egerton, Rowland inherited the family estates and resided at Farthinghoe in Northamptonshire, and in April 1617 was created a baronet. The marriage proved a long and happy one of forty years duration. Sir Rowland died suddenly of apoplexy in 1646 and was buried at Farthinghoe. Bridget survived him only two years. They had a numerous family of six sons and three daughters. The eldest son Thomas married Barbara, daughter of sir John St. John, and died issueless before his father. The

second son John succeeded to the title. He married Anne, daughter of George Wintour of Derham, esq., and had a son John who succeeded him. Sir John married Elizabeth daughter of Edward Holland of Heaton and Denton, in Lancashire, esq., by which marriage the Lancashire estates came into the family. He was succeeded by his son sir Holland, who was grandfather of Thomas, created baron Grey of Wilton in 1784, and earl of Wilton in 1801, with remainder to the second and every succeeding son of his daughter Eleanor, married to earl Grosvenor.

The manuscript is written in a neat small hand, and is a marvellous specimen of orthography and calligraphy. The leaves measure three inches and one quarter, by two inches and one half. Each page is ruled with red marginal lines (single at the top, but double on the other three sides of the page) enclosing the written space of two inches and two tenths by one inch and eight tenths. The title-page is written in red and black ink, and is enclosed between two columns and an entablature, emblematic, perhaps, of the pillars of Faith and Hope on which the authoress so surely relied. It is dated 1636. The binding is of black leather, ornamented with double gilt lines parallel to the margin of the book, with single oblique lines at each corner. There are perforations for strings or thongs to keep it closed when not in use. The composition is characterized by singular boldness, considering the state of religious

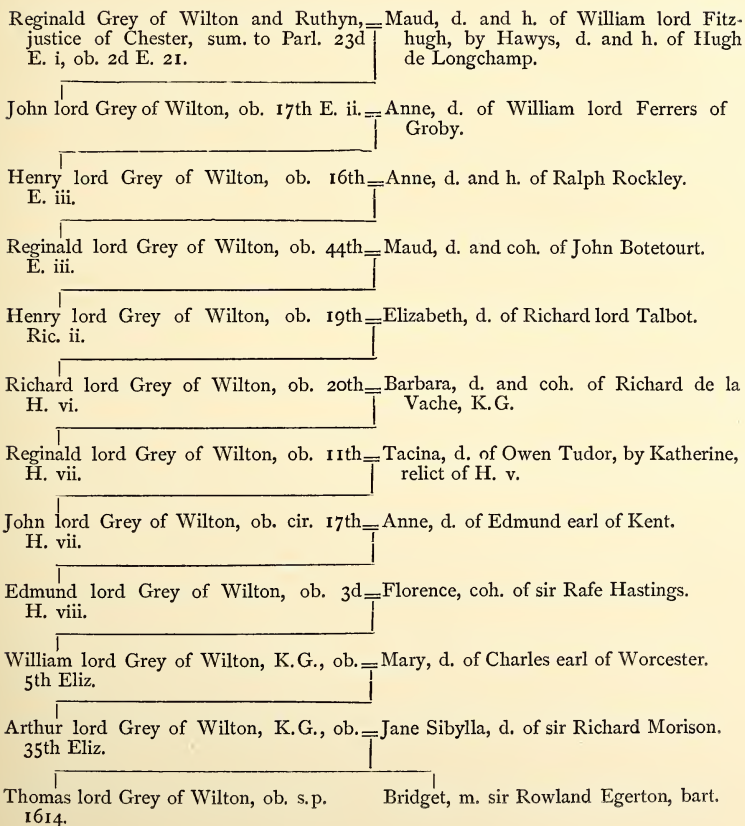
controversy at the period when it was written. The Star Chamber and the High Court of Commission were in full operation, and strenuous efforts were being made, and that in high quarters, to reintroduce some of the Popish doctrines and ceremonies which had been put down at the Reformation. It was, therefore, courageous on the part of Bridget to venture to express in terms so explicit, her abjuration of transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints and other practices which were at that time insinuating themselves into the public worship of the reformed church. The whole treatise is scriptural and orthodox, and breaths throughout a spirit of true christian faith, hope and humility; expressed in language testifying the strength of her convictions, yet free from the extremes of dogmatic pride and puritanical cant. That some of the bright rays of her confession may be reflected in the minds of those who read it, is the sincere hope of one who ventures to think that "Bridgets Beliefe" is worthy not merely of perusal but of imitation.

Be ready alwayes to giue an answer to euery man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meeknesse and reuerence.—*Old Bible*, 1590.

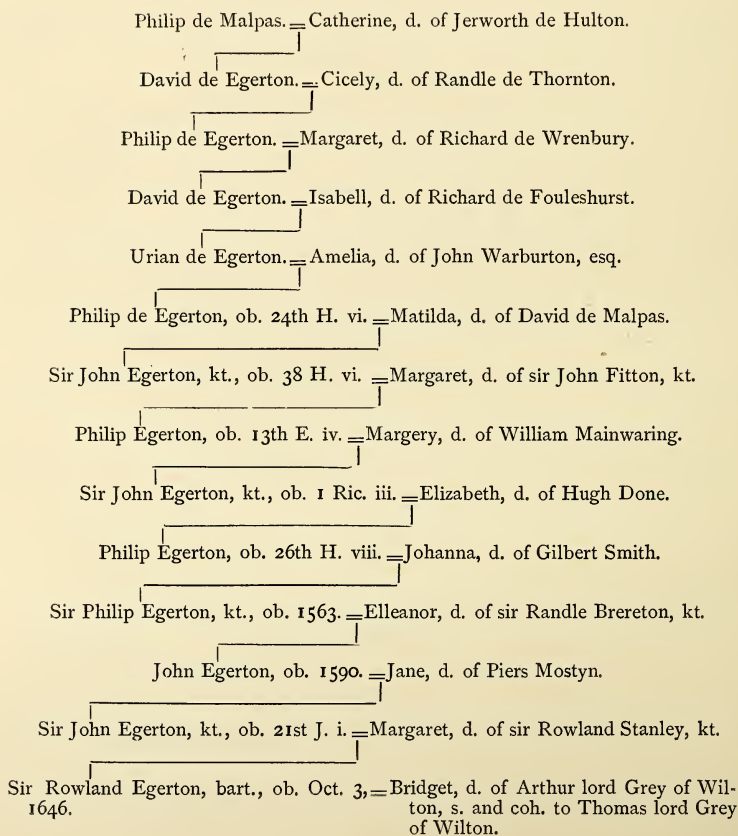
May 3, 1870.

P. M. GREY EGERTON.

PEDIGREE OF GREY DE WILTON.



PEDIGREE OF EGERTON.



A

FORME OF CONFESSION

BY THE

LADY BRIDGET EGERTON.

I BELEEUE in god, whome I beleeeue to be an essence, spirituall, simple, infinite, most holy, absolutely subsisting in himselfe, & by himselfe; not receiuing his being from any other. I beleeeue him to be a spirituall essence, because he is not any kind of bodie; neither hath he the parts of the bodies of men, or other creatures; but is, in nature, a spirit inuisible, not subject to any mans senses. I add also that he is a simple essence, because, his nature admits no manner of composition of matter, or forme, or parts. Furthermore he is infinite, & that diuers ways. Infinite in time, without any beginning, and without end: Infinite in place, because, he is euery where, and excluded no where: Lastly, he is most holy, of infinite wisdom, power, mercie, loue, goodnesse, & he alone is tearmed most holy, because, holinesse is of the very nature of god himselfe. I beleeeue that there is but one God onely, not many gods: as in the Prophet Isaiah chap: xliii. verse xi.

I BELEEUE, that there are three distinct persons, subsisting in the godhead: the Father, the Sonne, and the holy-ghost: yet I beleeeue that these three persons, are but one and

the same God. The Father is god : The Sonne is god ; and the Holy-ghost is god ; yet, are there not three gods, but one god : for the father, the Sonne, and y^e holy-ghost are three, (namely) in persons ; and againe, they three are one, not in person, but in nature. By nature, is meant a thing subsisting by it selfe ; that is common to many, as y^e substance of man, consisting of body and soule, common to all men ; which we call the humanity of a man ; is the nature of a man. By person, is meant a thing, or essence, subsisting by it selfe ; not common to many, but incommunicable : and so, in the misterie of the Trinity, the divine nature, is the godhead it selfe ; simply and absolutely considered ; and a person, is y^t which subsisteth in this godhead : as the Father, the sonne, and the Holy-ghost. I beleeeue also, that the father, which is the first person, in the holie trinity ; begat the person of y^e sonne from all eternity : and that y^e person of the holy-ghost, is proceeding, both from the father and the Sonne : yet so, as that the Father, is not in time before, either the sonne or the Holy-ghost : neither is one, greater than other ; but I beleeeue them to be, coequall, coessentiall, and consubstantiall ; three distinct persons, yet but one god ; all most wise, iust, mercifull, omnipotent, by one, and y^e same wisdome, iustice, mercie, and power : and because, they have all one godhead, therefore they are not onely, one with another, but also, each in other ; the Father in the Sonne, & the sonne in the father, and the holy-ghost in them both : neither doe I beleeeue that these three are one god ; as though the father had one part, and the Sonne an other part, and the holy-ghost a third : because the infinite, & the most simple godhead, is not subject to composition, or division : but I beleeeue euery person, is whole god, subsisting not in a part, but in the whole godhead : & that the whole godhead, is communicated from the Father, to y^e sonne ; and from both father and sonne, to the holy-ghost. Thus I beleeeue with my heart, and confesse with my mouth, the holy, and blessed Trinitie, of the persons, in the vnitie of y^e godhead.

I BELEEUE, that this blessed trinity, did in the beginning create the heauens, and y^e earth, with all creatures, and thinges contained in them of nothing; whether visible, or unuisible. I beleue also, that the heauens, the earth, and all the host of them, were finished in six days: as is proued in Gen: ii. i.

I BELEEUE that god made man, of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him, the breath of life; and the man was a liuing soule. Gen: ii. vii. consisting of soule, and body, created, and framed by gods owne hand, and made after y^e image of god. Gen: i. xxvii. The image of god, is a conformity, of man unto god. Eph: iiiii. Put on y^e new man; which after god, is created, in righteousness, and holinesse. Now whether gods image, doeth further consist, in the substance of mans body, or soule, or in the faculties of both, y^e scripture speaketh not. This image of god, hath two principall parts, first wisdome, secondly holinesse; The first man which god created, upon the sixth day, was called Adam; and vpon y^e same daie, of a rib, (taken by god, out of Adam Gen: ii. xxii.) did god create, the woman, (who was called Euah) she was y^e mother of all liuing. I beleue also, y^t Adam was created, in his first creation, (before his fall) holy, pure, inocent, and of an excellent wisdome, knowledge, discretion, and vnderstanding, perfect in euery part, aboue any other creature, (the holy angells onely excepted) and besides, I beleue that god gaue unto him, a certaine power, strength & facultie, (which we call freewill) whereby he might, (if he would) haue kept gods commandement; and so haue preserued himselfe, in that blessed estate, of inocency, and holinesse, wherein he was created; but he had no sooner receiued, this inestimable benefitt of inocency, and integrity, but he lost it, by transgressing gods commandement in eating of the forbidden fruite, of the tree, of knowledge, of good, & euill; y^e which the Lord had commanded him, he should not doe; and that whensoever he did, he should die the death Gen: ii. xvii. But by the perswation, of Euah his

wife, (who was seduced by the diuell in the shape of a serpent) he did eate thereof; as Gen: iii. vi. and thereby purchased unto himselfe, and all his posteritie, death both temporall, & eternall, and so became a firebrand of hell, a vassell of Satan; thereby loosing his inocency, and integretie, with y^e image of god, wherein he was created; of righteousness, and holinesse, both to himselfe and to all his posteritie for euer; for Adam sinned not, as a priuate person, but as a publike, in whome was represented all mankinde, who were in his loynes: and therefore sinned in him, and so were guilty of his sinne, as is proued by Abraham, Heb: vii. ix. x. where it is said, that Leui payed tythes in Abraham. Further I beleuee y^t from this transgression, ariseth another, namely originall sinne. Rom. v. xii. which is corruption ingendered, in our first conception, whereby euery facultie of the soule, and bodie, is prone to euill. Psal. li. v. which yet is not a corruption of mans substance, but onely of faculties, otherwise, ncither could mens soules be immortall, nor Christ take vpon him our nature. I beleuee, that also from Adam, our mindes receiue ignorance, in the things concerning god; i. Cor: ii. xiiii. impotencie, whereby the minde it selfe, is vnable to vnderstand spirituall things, although they be taught. Luke: xxiiii. xlv. & i. Cor. iii. v. vanity in the mind, thinking falshood trueth, and trueth falshood Eph. iiii. xvii. xviii. a naturall inclination, onely to conceiue, and deuise y^e thing, which is euill. Gen: vi. v. The will receiues an impotencie; so that it cannot will, or lust after that, which is good, that is, which may please, or be acceptable to god. Phil: ii. xiii. secondly an inward rebellion; whereby it vtterly abhorreth y^t which is good, desiring and willing that onely, which is euill. That which the affections receiue, is a disorder, by which they eschew, that which is good, and pursue that which is euill. Gal: v. xxiiii. That which the body hath receiued, is a fitnessse to begin sinne, in transporting all obiects, and occasions of sinne, to the soule: and secondly, a fitnessse to execute sinne, so soone as y^e heart hath begun it. Ro: vi. ix. and from this originall sinne, as from the fountaine, issueth

actuell sinne: which is either, inward or outward. Inward, actuell sinne, is of the minde, will and affections; when they are inclined, and carried contrary, to gods law. Psal. xiv. i. Outward actuell sinne, is that, to the committing whereof, y^e members of the body, together with the faculties of the soule concurre. Actuell sinne is of omission or commission, in thought, word, or deed: as whensoever, we omitt anie good duety, which god hath commanded; or committed anything which he hath forbidden us. Now the punishment whereto we are lyable, for the committing of sinne, is threefold. The first in this life; and that diuers waies both in our bodies, and soules, as is proued Gen: iii. xvii. Math: ix. ii. Deu: xxviii xxviii. The second is the bodily death. Rom: vi. xxiii. The third is after this life, euen eternall destruction from gods presence, and his exceedinge glory. ii. Thes: i. ix. And I beleue, that all the whole generation of Adam, is liable to all this misery; because all haue sinned, & so are depriued of the glory of god. Rom: iii. xxiii. and againe; as by one man (which was Adam) sinne entered into y^e world, and death by sinne, forasmuch as all men haue sinned. Rom: v. xii. Thus all mankind, being vtterly lost in themselves; and vtterly vnable to ransome, or deliuer themselves out of this cursed, damnable estate; wherein they were ingulfed.

I BELEEUE with all the powers of my soule, that god the father, the first person in the blessed trinitie did of his owne free will, decree, certaine men vnto saluation, to the praise of the glory of his grace Eph: i. iii. v. vi. Now the foundation of this decree, is Christ Jesus, the second person in the blessed Trinity, called by his father, from all eternity, to performe the office of Mediatour; that in him, all those which should be saued, might be chosen; Hebrewes v. & v. and Isaiah xlii. i. Now

I DOE BELEEUE that Jesus Christ, is by nature, perfitt god; the second person in the trinity, begotten of the

father, from all eternity, and perfitt man of his mother, y^e blessed virgin Mary. Math: i. xviii. who was conceiued in her miraculously by the holy ghost Luke. i. xxxv. and so was made man of his mother; and was borne at due time, as other children are, and became a perfitt man, in all thinges (sinne onely excepted) Heb: ii. xvii. and thus I faithfully beleue, that in this one person Jesus Christ, was vnited the two natures, diuine, and humane: yet so, as I beleue, both the natures remaine still, with their propperties, and effects, without mixture, composition, or conuersion, distinct. John. x. xvii. xviii. and this was requisite, that the Mediatour, should be god for these foure reasons; first; in regard of the greatnesse of sinne, where with gods ma^{tie} was infinitely offended: secondly; because of the fearefull power of death: thirdly; that he might vanquish the diuells tyranny: fourthly; y^t he might make his humane nature, both of plentifull merit, and also of sufficient efficacie, for the worke of mans redemption: & it was also as necessary, that Christ should be man. first; that god might be pacified, in that nature, wherein he was offended. secondly; that he might vndergoe y^e punishment due to sinne, y^e which the godhead could not: and lastly; y^t he might be like vnto vs in all thinges, (sinne onely excepted) that he might be a mercifull, and a faithful, high Priest in thinges pertaining to god; to make reconcilliation, for the sinnes of the people. Heb: ii. xvii. xviii. And I beleue, that Christ being borne, was circumcised the eighth day; to the end, he might fullfill, all the righteousnesse of the law: and being thirty years of age, he was baptized, that he being publicquely, and solemnely inuested, into the office of mediatourship; might take vpon him, the guilt of our sins. He was both circumcised, and baptized, that we might learne, first; that the whole efficacie of the sacraments, depend alone, and wholly vpon, him; secondly; to shew, that he is the knot, and bond of both couenants. I beleue that Christs office is threefold; priestly, propheticall, and regall. Psal. cx. i. ii. iii. iiii. Isaiah. xlii. i. Christ's priesthood is an office of his, whereby he performeth all those things to god, whereby is obtained

eternall life for us. Heb. v. x. againe Heb. vii. xxiii. xxv. His priesthood consisteth of two parts, satisfaction ; and intercession. Satisfaction is that, whereby Christ is a full propitiation to his father, for the elect. Rom. iii. xxiii. xxv. Acts. xx. xxviii. ii. Cor : v. xix. satisfaction comprehendeth his passion, and full-filling of y^e law. His passion is the first part of satisfaction, by w^{ch} he hath vndergone, the punishment of sinne, satisfied gods iustice, & appeased his anger, for the sinnes of the faithfull. In his passion is comprehended all his sufferings : but especially those ; which went immediately before, and in his death : as his agony, in the garden, when his sweate was drops of blood, his being buffeted with fists, crowned with a crowne of sharpe thornes, bound to a pillar, and scourged, besides y^e enduring, of all the basest reproaches, mockings, with all the contumelious speeches, that could be offered ; and lastly ; being condemned by Pilate, to die, although without any fault of his owne ; (as Pilate confessed) he humbled himselfe, and became obedient to death, euen the death of the crosse. And so I beleeeue, he was crucified and did offer himselfe vp, a sacrifice to god the father, vpon the alter of the crosse ; as a ransom for the sinnes of the Electe. Hebrewes. ix. xxvi. and this I beleeeue, to be the onely, propitiatory, satisfactory, and expiatory sacrifice, for the sinnes of the whole world ; and for mee, the chiefe of sinners. And I doe (with all the powers of my soule) beleeeue, that hereby, he did fully accomplish mans saluation. i. Tim : ii. vi. Neither do I acknowledge any other name given vnder heauen, whereby we must be saued, but onely his. And I beleeeue, that as he suffered, this cursed death for our sinnes ; and to free vs from eternall malediction ; so doe I beleeeue, that he hath fullfilled the whole law for vs, by which he satisfied gods iustice. Rom. viii. ii. and whereby, I beleeeue, we are made righteous, in the sight of god, by the imputation of Christ's righteousness onely, as is proued ii. Cor. v. xxi. and therefore doe vtterly reiect my owne, or any mans meritt, in case of iustification before god : acknowledging, that all our righteousness, is but as filthie dung, if the Lord

should weigh it, in the balance of his iustice ; vtterly vnable to iustifie vs in the sight of god. But I trust and belecue, to be sau'd onely, by the meritts, death, & bloudsheadinge of that immaculate lamb Christ Jesus, and so to be set free, and pardoned of all my sinnes whatsoeuer ; acknowledging my merits, to be the mercies of god, in Christ ; who is made vnto mee, righteousnesse, holinesse, sanctification, and redemption. i. Cor : i. xxx. I doe further belecue, and confesse, that Jesus Christ suffered death, vpon y^e crosse for mee, & for all beleeuers ; the which was necessary, y^t he might thereby confirme to vs, the testament, or couenant of grace ; promised for our sakes. Heb : ix. xv. xvi. xvii. I beleue also that he was buried by Joseph of Arimathea, the which was necessary, to ratifie, the certaintie of his death. I also doe beleue his descension into hell : because it is contained in the Apostles creede ; but because the scriptures doe not expresse how ; or in what manner, I beleue it implicitly. Now the second part of Christ's priesthood, is his intercession, whereby I beleue, he is an aduocate, and intercessour to god the father, for all the elect. Rom. viii. xxxiii. his intercession I beleue is directed immediately to god the father. i. John ii. i. if any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with y^e father, euen Jesus Christ the righteous. Christ's propheticall office is that ; whereby he immediately from his father, reuealeth his word, and all y^e meanes of saluation, comprised in the same. John i. xviii. & viii. xxvi. Those thinges, w^{ch} I heare of my Father, I speake to the world. The word was first reuealed, partly by visions, by dreames, by speech, by the instinct, and motion of the holy ghost. Heb. i. i. The like is done ordinarily, onely by the preaching of the word ; where the holy Ghost, doeth inwardly illuminate, the vnderstanding. Luke xxiii. xlv. for this cause, Christ is called y^e Doctour, Lawgiuer, and Councellour of his church. Math. xxiii. x. Be yee not called Doctours ; for one is yo^r Doctour Jesus Christ. and James iv. xii. There is one lawgiuer, w^{ch} is able to saue, and to destroy. yea, he is the Apostle of our profession. Heb. iii. i. The angell of the

couenant. Malac : iii. i. and the mediatour of the new couenant. Heb : ix. xv. Christ's regall office is that, whereby he distributeth his gifts, and disposeth all things, for the benefit of his elect ; and whereby he ruleth, and gouerneth his Church. Psal : ii. & cx.

I BELEEUE also, the resurrection of Christ, that after his body had layne in the graue, part of three dayes, on the third day, he arose againe from the dead, by his diuine power, subdued death, and raised vp himselfe to eternall life. ii. Cor : xiii. iv. Math : xxviii. vi. The end of Christs resurrection was to shew, that his satisfaction by his passion, and death, was fully absolute: for one onely sinne, would have detained the mediatour, vnder the dominion of death ; although he had fully satisfied for all the rest. i. Cor : xv. xvii. Rom : iiiii. xxv.

I ALSO stedfastly beleeeue, Christs ascention into heauen, which is a true, locall, and visible translation, of his humane nature from earth, into the highest heauen, of the blessed, by the vertue, and power of his diety. Acts. i. ix. Eph. iiiii. x. he ascended far aboue all the heauens. The end of his ascention was, that he might prepare a place for the faithfull, giue them y^e holy Ghost, and eternall glory. John. xiiii. ii. And I beleeeue, (according to the scriptures) that he sits at the right hand of god y^e father ; the which metaphorically signifieth, that Christ hath in the highest heauens actually, all glory, power, and dominion. Heb : i. iii. Psal. cx. ii. i. Cor : xv. xxv. Acts. vii. lv. And I beleeeue that Christ's body, although it be thus glorified, yet is still the same, of a solid substance, compased about, visible, palpable, and shall perpetually remaine in heauen, till y^e day of iudgement, Luke 24, 39.

I DOE also beleeeue and confesse, that this Jesus Christ shall come, at the end of the world to iudgement ; in the same likenesse, that he was seen, to goe vp into heauen. Acts. i.

xi. and with the same body, to iudge both the quick, and the dead. Matth: xxv. xxxi. xxxii. ii. Cor: v. x. Reu: xx. xii. xiii. to reward euery one, according to their works, at which day I doe constantly beleue, all mankind shall rise againe in their bodies, by the omnipotent power of god, whereby he is able to subdue all thinges vnto himselfe. Then shall death, hell, and the graue yeeld vp their dead: and then shall the soules of the faithfull, and elect, be ioyned vnto their bodies inseperably; the which bodies, shall be y^e very same, which they were before; onely, whereas they were corruptible, and mortall, then they shall be raised incorruptible; for in a moment, in the twincklinge of an eye, at the last trumpe, for y^e trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed: for this corruptible, must put on incorruption; and this mortall, must put on immortality; then shall they being thus reunited, be caught vp into heauen, and so shall remaine for euer with the Lord. i. Thess: iii. xvi. enioying such vnspeakable ioyes, as the eye hath not seene, the eare hath not heard, nor no heart can conceiue. Furthermore I doe beleue, that the soules of all gods elect, as soone as euer, they are departed from their bodies, doe goe presently to heauen, being conducted thither, by the holy angells of god as is proued, Luke xvi. by Lazarus, and not into limbo Patrum, or purgatory, or any other place whatsoever; and againe it is proued, by our Sauour's owne wordes, unto the thiefe vpon the crosse, this day shalt thou be with mee in Paradice, and further he saith, where he is, there shall his seruants be also, and I hope none dare say, that Christ is in purgatory; and lastly, our Sauours owne prayer proues it, John xvii. xxiv. where he prayes, Father I will that they also, whom thou hast giuen mee, be with mee, where I am: y^t they may see my glorie, which thou hast giuen mee: so that grounding my beliefe in this point, (as in all others) vpon the holy scriptures, I doe vtterly reiect this errour, and false opinion of the papists herein; the which is but a fiction, of their owne braines and to inrich the Popes coffers: and no other purgatory doe I beleue, but onely

the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which (as y^e scripture assures mee) purgeth all sin. i. John i. vii. I beleue also, and confesse, that man is iustified (that is pronounced iust) before god, free from sin, and all punishment due for sinne, by a true, and liuely faith, in the blood of Christ onely: and not by his owne workes, merits, righteousnesse, or deserts whatsoever: noe, nor by any inherent righteousnesse in himselfe; although the person be a beleuer, and in the state of grace. And so much is proued Phil: iii. viii. ix. where the Apostle Paul in the beginninge of the chapter, hauinge rehearsed all the priuiledges which he had by the Law, yea and his owne righteousnesse; that he had after his beleueing the Gospel; reiecting them in case of iustification, accounting all but as dunge, that he may winne Christ; and may be found in him, not hauing his owne righteousnesse, w^{ch} is of the Law but that which is, through the faith of Christ, the righteousness, which is of god by faith. And againe the same Apostle is bold to say, Rom. iii. ii. that if Abraham were iustified by works, then he had wherewith to glory; but not with god, for he saith afterwards, Rom. v. i. therefore being iustified by faith, we haue peace with god, through our Lord Jesus Christ: and therefore I renounce that opinion, which the Papists hold, in this point of iustification; as iniurious, and derogatory, to the onely meritorious satisfaction of our Lord Jesus Christ: and doe constantly beleue that we are iustified by faith onely, according to the scripture. But when I say, that faith onely iustificieth; I doe not meane a barren or dead faith, the which St. James saith cannot iustifie, chapter ii. xiii. but I speake of such a faith as bringeth forth good workes plentifully, and can noe more be seuered from it, then the sunne from his light, or the fire from its heate. The reasons why we should doe good workes, although they cannot saue vs, are many: first; because god hath commanded vs so to doe, for we are his workemanship, created in Christ Jesus vnto good workes; w^{ch} god hath before ordained, that we should walke in them. Eph: ii. x. Secondly; because Christ hath purchased vs, a peculiar people vnto himselfe, zealous

of good workes. Thirdly; to shew our mutuall loue and charitie, which we beare one to another. And fourthly; to make our calling, and election certaine to our selues. ii. Peter i. x. For these and other causes, must we doe good workes, and yet must we not trust, to be saued by them; for there is no other name giuen vnder heauen, whereby a man must be saued, but onely the name of Jesus Christ. Acts iii. xii.

I DOE constantly beleeeue, y^t all the canonically scriptures, which are the old, and new testament, are the infallible word of god: and that the holy spirit of god, was the enditour, and authour of them, as is proued, ii. Peter i. xx. xxi. For the propheticie came not in old time, by the will of man, but holy men of god, spake as they were moued by the holy Ghost. I also doe beleeeue, that y^e scriptures doe containe all things, necessary to saluation: and y^t it ought to be the onely rule of our faith, where vpon it ought to be grounded. For St. Paul saith, ii. Tim: iii. xvi. xvii. All scripture is giuen by inspiration of god; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproofe, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of god may be perfect, thoroughly furnished vnto all good workes. So that I see noe neede, nor place left, for the popish trash, of vnwritten verities, further then they shall agree with the scriptures.

I DOE further also beleeeue, that god y^e father hath from euerlasting, and before all worlds, in his secret councell, and in his euerlasting purpose, and decree, elected, chosen, and predestinated in Christ Jesus, certaine of the lost sonnes of Adam; to be members of his bodie, and heires with him, of his heauenlie kingdome which Christ hath purchased with his blood, i. Pet. i. and i. ii. iii. iiii. Rom: viii. xxvii. Titus i. i. ii. Eph. iii. xi. and y^e rest of men, he leaues to themselues, and their owne corruption, in their naturall estate: and this is called predestination, which is a part of Gods decree, whereby he doeth in himselfe, and according to the councell of his owne will, ordaine

what shall become of euery man, concerning his euerlasting estate ; I say it is a part of his decree, because the counsell, or decree of god, vniuersally taken, extends itselfe to all things, y^t are : and predestination is gods decree, so far forth, as it concerns the reasonable creatures, especially men. Now those that the Lord hath predestinated, in Christ Jesus to euerlastinge saluation, them doth he call in his good time as Rom: viii. xxx. to the knowledge of his trueth, to faith, repentance, and all integritie, and holinesse, i. Pet: i. xv. and those whome he doeth call, them doth he iustifie, and whome he doth iustifie them will he glorifie. Romanes viii. xxx.

I BELEEUE also, and confesse, the holy catholique church. The catholique church hath two partes: the church triumphant in heauen, which are the saints glorified in heauen, and the church militant, dispersed ouer the face of the whole earth. The church militant I beleuee is two fold ; visible, and inuisible ; the visible church is a mixt companie of men, professing the faith, assembled together, by the preaching of the word: It may well be called a mixt companie ; because in it there be true beleeuers, and hypocrites ; elect, and reprobate ; good, and bad ; for the church is the Lords field, in the which the enimy sowes his tares ; and it is called a church of the better part, namely of the elect ; whereof it consisteth, though they be in number few: as for the vngodly, though they be in the church, yet are they no more true parts of it indeed ; then y^e superfluous humours in the veines, are parts of the body. The other church, I call the inuisible church, not for that men are inuisible ; but because it doeth not alwaies appeare to the sight of the world ; but is known of god onely, who alone knoweth who are his, ii. Tim: ii. xix. Now touching the generall estate of this church militant, I beleuee, that god giues his spirit vnto it, in such a measure that the gates of hell shall neuer preuaile against it. Yet neuerthesse it remaines subiect to errour, both in doctrine, and manners: for that which is true in euery member of the

church, is also true in the whole: but euery member of the church militant, is subiect to errour, both in doctrine and manners: because men in this life, are but in part enlightened, and sanctified. Againe y^t which befalls to one, or two particular churches, may likewise befall all the particular churches, vpon earth, all being in one, and the same condition. And we see it proued Reu: ii. iiiii. that the church of Ephesus failed, in forsaking her first loue: and the church of Galatia, was remoued to another gossell; from him that hath called them in y^e grace of Christ. Gal: i. vi. and why may not the same thinges befall twenty, yea an hundred churches, which befell these twaine. Lastly experience sheweth this to be true, in that it is euident, y^t generall councells haue erred. I know y^t the Papists, in maintaineinge y^t doctrine, that the church cannot erre; doe alledge y^e promise of Christ. John xvi. xiiii. Howbeit when he is come, which is the spirit of trueth, he will leade you in all trueth: but it is answered, that the promise is directed to the Apostles, who with their apostolicall authority, had this priuiledge graunted them, that in their teachinge, and penning of the gossell, they should not erre: And therefore in the counsell at Jerusalem, they conclude it thus: It seems good vnto vs, and to the holy Ghost. But say that the promise be further extended to all the church, yet must it be vnderstood with a limitation, that god will giue his spirit vnto y^e members thereof to. lead them into all trueth so far forth as shall be needfull for their saluation, Acts xx. xx. xxvii. But notwithstanding this supposed possibility of errour, I beleeeue, that god hath in all times heretofore and euer will preserue some part or parts of his catholique church so that they shall not erre totally, but that his trueth shall be preserued in them so far as is necessary vnto saluation; but I dare not say that this is peculiar or tied to any particular church as France, England, no nor Italie neither, although y^e Popes holinesse doe there reside who pretends to haue the holy Ghost pinned to his sleeeue and that when he sitts in his chaire he cannot erre. But I haue no such article in my

creede, but doe beleue, that any particular church may erre, and further that y^e true church is not alwaies conspicuous to mans eye, so that one may say loe here or loe there, but is many times driuen into a narrow corner yea into the wildernesse as Reuel: xii. vi. But y^e Lord knowes who are his and he will euer preserue his church and haue his Church to the worlds end. Further I belieue, that Christ alone is the head of the catholique church and y^t he neither hath nor can haue any creature in heauen or earth to be fellow herein, Eph: i. xxii. Coll. ii. xix. for the church is his body and none but he can performe the duety of a head vnto it, the which consists in two thinges, the first is to gouerne the church by such power and authority whereby he can and doeth prescribe lawes properly binding y^e consciences of all his members; the second is by grace to quicken and to put spirituall life into them so as they shall be able to say they liue not but Christ in them. As for the supremacie of the Sea of Rome whereby the Pope will needs stand ministeriall head to the catholique church, it is a Satanicall forgery, for the headship (as I may tearme it) of Christ is of y^t nature that it can admit no deputy whether we respect the commaundinge or the quickninge power of Christ before named. Nay Christ needs no Vicar or deputy for he is all-sufficient in himselfe and alwaies present with his church as himselfe testifieth. Where two or three are gathered in my name there am I in the midst of them. And whereas all commissions cease in y^e presence of him that giues y^e commission. It is as much pride and arrogancie for the Pope to take vnto himselfe the title of the head and vniuersall Bishop of the church as it is for a subiect to keepe himselfe in Commission in the presence of the King. I further beleue that there is noe saluation out of the church and that therefore euery one which will be saued must become and a citizen of y^e catholique and apostolique church, and such as remaine for euer out of the same perish eternally. Reu: xxii. xiiii. xv. and i. John ii. xix. And the Arke out of which all perished figured the church out of which all are condemned and

for this cause. St. Luke saith that the lord added to the church from day to day such as should be saued. Acts ii. xlvii. And the reason is plaine for wthout Christ there is no saluation, but out of the church militant there is no Christ nor faith in Christ and therefore noe saluation. Againe forth of the militant church there are no meanes of saluation, no preaching of the word, no inuocation of gods name, noe sacraments, and therefore no saluation. I beleeeue also that the church which here we beleeeue is onely one as Christ himselfe also speaketh. My Doue is alone and my vndefiled is the onely daughter of her mother. Cant. vi. ix. And as there is onely one god and one Redeemer, one faith, one baptisme and one way of saluation by Christ onely, soe there is but one church alone. The largenesse of y^e church is noted in the word catholique w^{ch} is vniuersall and it is so called for three reasons. First it is generall, or vniuersall in respect of time because the church hath had a being in all times and ages euer since y^e giuinge of the promise to our first parents in Paradise, Gen: iii. xv. Secondly it is generall in respect of y^e persons of men, for it consists of all sortes and degrees of men high and low rich and poore learned and vnlearned. Math. xiii. xlvii. Thirdly it is catholique or vniuersall in respect of place because it hath beene gathered from all parts of the earth specially now in the time of the new testament when our Sauour saith that the gospell shall be preached in all the world. Math: xxviii. xix. and St John Reuel: vii. ix. I beheld and loe a greate multitude w^{ch} noe man could number of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues stood before the throne and before the lambe. The outward meanes and workes whereby a true church may be discerned and knowne are first, the preaching of the word of god, secondly, the sacraments sincerely ministred, and thirdly, due execution of discipline according to the word. Yet if the last be wanting so be it there be the preaching of the word with obedience in the people and the dew administration of the sacraments, there is for substance a true church of god for it is the banner of Christ displayed vnder which all that warre against

y^e flesh, the diuell and the world must range themselves as the Lord saith by the prophet Isaiah ; I will lift vp my hand to the Gentiles and set vp my standard vnto the people and they shall bring their sonnes in their armes and their daughters shall be carried vp on their shoulders. Isaiah xlix. xxii.

I BELEEUE and confesse that Jesus Christ hath left not onely the holy scriptures to instruct and teach his church but also sacraments in number two which are appendants to the same (to witt) Baptisme and the Lords Supper the which are as seales of his grace to his church to confirme it in his trueth and as conduits of his mercy to conuey his grace and goodnesse to it also. A sacrament is that whereby Christ and his sauing graces are by externall signes signified exhibited and sealed to a christian man. Rom: iiii. xi. He receiued the signe of circumcision as the seale of righteousness which he had when he was vncircumcised and againe Gen: xvii. ii. x. xi. God alone is y^e authour of a sacrament for y^e signe cannot confirme any thing at all but by the consent and promise of him at whose hands the benefitt promised must be receiued. Therefore god it is alone which appointed signes of grace in whose power alone it is to bestow grace. The parts of a sacrament are the signe and the thinge signified by the sacrament: the signe is that which is outward sensible and representatiue, the thinge signified in the sacrament is Christ and his graces which concerne our saluation, and therefore it may well be gathered and proued by the nature of a sacrament that the outward signe in the thinge signifying cannot be that which is thereby signified, because they are two distinct thinges and that it would then cease to be a sacrament the which doeth consist of two thinges the one part subiect to sense and visible, the other not to be apprehended by sense but altogether spirituall. The first sacrament which is baptisme is that whereby christians are initiated and admitted into y^e church of god as is proued i. Cor. xii. xiii.

IN BAPTISME I beleeeue such as are within the couenant are washed with water in the name of the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, that being thus ingrafted into Christ they may haue perpetuall fellowship with him Math. xxviii. xix. Mark xvi. xvi. The element of water whereby the vncleanesse of y^e body is purified by a most conuenient proportion shaddoweth out the blood of Christ which as S^t John saith, i. John i. vii. cleanseth vs from all sinne. Now in baptisme the putting into or sprinkling of the water doth ratifie the sheading of the blood of Christ for the remission of all our sinnes and the imputation of his righteousness, Acts xxii. xvi. and i. Cor: vi. xi. Secondly the mortification of sinne by the power of Christs death. Rom: vi. iii. The continuance in the water noteth the buriall of sinne, namely a continuall increase of mortification by the power both of Christ his death and buriall. Rom: vi. iiiii. The comming out of the water doeth confirme our spirituall viuification to newnesse of life in all holinesse and righteousness y^e which we attaine vnto by the power of Christs resurrection. Rom: vi. iiiii.

I BELEEUE the lords supper is a sacrament wherewithin the signes of bread and wine such as are ingrafted into Christ are in him dayly nourished in a spirituall manner to eternall life. i. Cor: xxiii. xxiiii. xxv. The elements of bread and wine are signes and seales of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, the wine doeth represent vnto vs the blood of Jesus Christ which was shed for vs, and the bread doeth signifie vnto vs also the body of Christ which was giuen for vs and as many as doe receiue the sacrament in true faith in remembrance of the death and passion of Jesus Christ doe eate and drinke Jesus Christ spiritually to their eternall saluation. John vi. liiii. And therefore S^t Paul calles it the communion of y^e body and blood of Christ. i. Cor: x. xvi. And I beleeeue verily that whosoever receives it worthily is thereby made partaker of Christ with all the benefitts of his passion and that thereby he dwelleth in Christ and Christ in him as it is in S^t Johns gossell chap: vi. lvi.

but spiritually all this is to be vnderstood as in John vi. lxiii. And I doe constantly beleeeue that in this sacrament neither the bread nor the wine neither before nor after the wordes of consecration are changed, altered, or transubstantiated into the reall essentiall or materiall body of Christ, but remaine still in nature and substance that they were before and therefore S^t Paul feareth not to call it bread many times in his i. Epistle to the Cor: xi. xxv. xxvi. And our Sauour himselfe when he did institute it bad them to doe it in remembrance of him and what neede we to be put in remembrance of that which is present before vs. Besides, the bread is the communion of the body of Christ, therefore not his very body and by this meanes the body of Christ should not onely be made of the substance of the virgin Maries, but also of the Bakers bread, and finally this opinion of y^e Papists doeth quite ouerthrow y^e sacramentall vnion, namely, y^e proportion which is betwixt the signe and y^e thing signified and therefore doe I vtterly reiect this popish dreame and doe beleeeue herein as aforesaid.

I DOE likewise constantly beleeeue that as Jesus Christ is the vndoubted Sauour of the world, so is he our onely Mediatour, Aduocate, and Intercessor to god the father, and none but he alone who is ascended into y^e heauens, sitteth on the right hand of god and maketh intercession for vs as S^t John sayth i. Epistle ii. i. If any man sinne we haue an aduocate with the Father, euen Jesus Christ the righteous and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, and Tim: ii. v. There is one god and one Mediatour betweene god and man, euen the man Christ Jesus. And as I beleeeue that Jesus Christ is our onely Mediatour and Aduocate, so doe I beleeeue y^t y^e blessed Trinity and Christ as he is god and man, are onely to be called vpon, inuocated, and pray'd vnto, and neither saint nor Angell, Patriarke nor father, martyr nor confessour, Peter nor Paul, nor any other creature how excellent so euer they be in the eyes of the world, because it is a diuine honour peculiar to god alone, and therefore god

hath commanded vs to call vpon him in the day of trouble and he will deliuer vs and we shall glorifie him. Againe he onelic knowes y^e heart and no other creature ii. Chron: vi. xxx. And therefore in vaine it is to pray vnto them, for because he heares the praier therefore to him shall all flesh come. And lastly, S^t Paul saith, Romanes x. xiiii., how shall they call vpon him in whom they haue not beleeued. Then as it is not lawfull to beleue in any saue god alone, so is it not lawfull to pray to any other saue god alone in y^e mediation of Jesus Christ, by whome we haue accesse vnto the throne of grace, with assurance of being heard. Hebrews vii. xxv. John xiiii. xiii. xiiii.

I CONFESSE and acknowledge the communion of saints y^t there is a spirituall fellowship and society of all the members of Christ, being the faithfull seruants and children of god, and withall I beleue that I am partaker of the same with the rest. This communion hath two parts; Fellowship of y^e members with the head, and of the members with themselues. The communion of y^e members with their head is not outward, but altogether spirituall. The church receiues of Christs foure most worthy benefitts by this communion. The first y^t Christ our Mediatour, god and man hath truely giuen himselfe to vs and is become our lot and portion, and withall god the Father and the holy spirit in him as Dauid saith, Psal. xv. v. The second is y^e right of adoption wherein all the faithfull, whether in heauen or earth, are actually made the children of god. The third benefitt is a title and right to the righteousness of Christ in his sufferings and fulfilling of y^e Law. The fourth benefitt is a right to the kingdome of heauen. Now the things which Christ receiueh of vs are two, our sinnes with the punishment thereof made his by application or imputation, ii. Cor: v. xxi. And our afflictions with all y^e miseries of this life w^{ch} he accounts as his owne, Acts ix. iiii. And this communion betwixt Christ and us is expressed in the scriptures by that blessed and heauenly bargain in which there is mutuall exchange betweene Christ and vs.

He imparts vnto vs, milke and wine without siluer or money to refresh vs, and gold tried in the fire y^t we may become rich, and white rayment that we may be cloathed, and eye salue to anoint our eyes that we may see. And we for our parts returne him nothing but blindnesse and pouerty and the loathsome burden of our filthy sinnes. Isaiah lv. i. ii. iii. The second part of the communion is y^t which the S^{ts} haue one with another, and it is either of the liuinge with the liuinge, or of the liuinge with the dead. Now the communion of the liuinge is three fold. First there is communion in affection, which is that whereby all the seruants of god are alike affected to god, to Christ, to their owne sinnes, and to each other. They are of one heart alike disposed though they be not acquainted nor haue any externall fellowship in the flesh, and therefore S^t Peter saith, Acts iii. xxxii. The multitude of them that beleueed were of one heart and of one soule. And from hence that all y^e children or god are of one heart, it proceedes y^t they beare one anothers burdens. Gal: vi. ii. As when one member is grieved all are grieved: when one reioyceth all reioyceth: As in the body when one member suffereth all suffer. Secondly in y^e gifts of Gods spirit as loue, hope, feare, and this is shewed when one man doeth imploy the graces of god bestowed vpon him for y^e good and saluation of another. The third thing is in y^e vse of temporall riches to doe good with them and impart them to the reliefe of other our fellow members within y^e compasse of our callinges, and to our abilitie, as S^t Paul saith, Gal: vi. x. Yea and sometimes beyond our abilitie, ii. Cor: viii. iii. S^t Paul saith doe good vnto all especially to them which are of y^e household of faith, Gal: vi. x. The communion of the liuing with the dead stands in two things: the one is y^t y^e saints departed in y^e church triumphant doe in generall pray for y^e church militant vpon earth, desiring the finall deliuerance of all their fellow members from all their miseries, as appeareth by y^t in y^e Reuel: vi. x. The second is y^t y^e godly on earth doe in heart and affection conuerse wth them in heauen, desiring to be dissolved

and to be with Christ. Now whereas y^e Papists doe further inlarge this communion, auouching y^t y^e saints in heauen doe make intercession to Christ for vs and impart their merits vnto vs, and y^t we againe are for y^t cause to inuocate them and to doe vnto them a kind of religious worship. We dissent from them, being resolu'd y^t these things are but inuentions of mans braine, wanting warrant of y^e word.

I BELEEUE and confesse also y^e forgiuenesse of sinnes, which is a blessing of god vpon his church, procured by the death and passion of Jesus Christ. Heb. ix. xxvi. whereby god esteemes of sinne as noe sinne or as not committed, as is proued i. John i. vii. and i. Pet: i. xxiii. xix. And I doe not onely beleuee y^t god doeth giue pardon of sinn to his church and people (for y^t y^e very deuills beleuee) but withall I beleuee y^e forgiuenesse of my owne particular sins.

I BELEEUE also the resurrection of the body of the w^{ch} I haue spoken before onely I conclude it thus, that wth holy Iob, Iob: xix. xxv. xxvi. xxvii. I beleuee my Redeemer liueth and he shall stand y^e last on y^e earth, and although wormes doe destroy and eate this body of mine yet I shall see God in my flesh, whome I myselfe shall see and my eyes shall behold and noe other for mee. Neuerthelesse y^e bodies shall be altered in quality, being made incorruptible and filled with glorie.

I BELEEUE y^e life euerlasting, which is that blessed and most happie estate in which all the elect shall reigne wth Christ their head in y^e heauens after this life and after y^e day of iudgement for euer and euer. And it consisteth in an immediate coniunction and communion wth god himselfe: as Christ in his solemne prayer to his Father a little before his death, signifieth John xvii. xi. I pray not for these alone but for them also w^{ch} shall beleuee in mee through thy word y^t they all may be one as thou O Father art in mee and I in thee euen that they may

be one also in vs. For this communion shall be first of all wth Christ as he is man and by reason y^t y^e manhood of Christ is personally vnited to y^e godhead of the Sonne, it shall also be with Christ as he is god, and so consequently wth y^e Father and y^e holy Ghost. And I do beleue in particular euerlasting life to mee, and I doe constantly beleue y^t my soule so soone as euer it departeth out of my body shall be carried by y^e ministry of the holy angells of god into the kingdome of heauen. This is my faith, this is my hope and trust y^e which I haue learned and beene taught out of the word of god. And now good Lord y^t hast begun this good worke in mee, finish it I beseech thee and strengthen mee y^t I may perseuere therein to the end and in the end, through Jesus Christ my onely Lord and Sauour. AMEN.

A K A L E N D E R

CONTEYNING THE

NAMES OF ALL SUCH GENT. AND OTHERS AS UPON HER MATY'S
PRYVVE SEALES HAVE PAID THERE MONEY TO THE HANDES
OF SIR HUGH CHOLMONDLEY KNYGHTE COLLECTR
OF HER HYGHNES LOANE WITHIN THE
COUNTIE OF CHESTER
TOGETHER WITH THE SEVERALL SOMES AND
DAIES OF RECEIPT.

A.D. 1597.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF

R. H. WOOD, Esq., F. S. A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXII.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following document is a return from sir Hugh Cholmondeley of the sums collected by him from the gentlemen in Cheshire, as her majesty's deputy-lieutenant and collector in that county, under privy seals granted in reference to a loan called for on account of the war in Ireland; and frequent references to which are contained in the various letters and documents, the substance of which is given in the Calendar of State Papers 1595-7, wherein the name of sir Hugh Cholmondeley as her majesty's collector is frequently mentioned. The total raised appears to have been sixteen hundred and seventy-five pounds. The relative proportions borne by the heads of the great families in Cheshire and the excuses made by some of them are curious and interesting. The account given by Froud, of an earlier loan in the previous reign, shows the general character of this arbitrary imposition, which must have been far more oppressive than the property-tax of our own day, inquisitorial and inconvenient though it sometimes be. "Money had to be found somewhere. The harvest, happily, had been at last abundant, and wheat had fallen from fifty shillings a quarter to four or five. The country was in

a condition to lend, and a commission was sent out for a forced loan calculated on the assessment of the last subsidy. Lists of the owners of property in each county were drawn out with sums of money opposite to their names, and the collectors were directed 'to travail by all the best ways they might for obtaining the sums noted.' Persons found conformable were to receive acknowledgments. Should 'any be froward' they were to find securities to appear when called on before the Privy Council, or be arrested on the spot and sent to London.* One hundred and ten thousand pounds were collected under the commission in spite of outcry and resistance."†

R. H. W.

EASTER, 1872.

* *Commission for the Loan, MS.*, Mary Domestic, vol. xi.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xii.

A KALENDER.

A Kalender conteyning the names of all such gent. and others as upon her Maty's pryvye seales have paid there money to the handes of Sir Hugh Cholmondley, knyghte, collect^r of her Hyghnes loane withⁱⁿ the countie of Chester, together wth the severall somes and daies of receipt.

These 4 paid before the respite.	Henrie Delves, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	... xi th August.
	Dame Elizabeth Boothe, wid ^w	xx ^{li}	... xix August.
	Geffrey Shakerley, esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	... xxiiij August.
	John Egerton, esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	... xxv August.
	Richard Groveno ^r , esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	... xxv Octob ^r .
	Dame Marie Egerton, widd ^w	xx ^{li}	} xxvi Octob ^r .
	Peter Warburton of Arley, Esqu ^r	L ^{li}	
	William Brereton of Handford, Esq.	xl ^{li}	
	Thomas Leighe of Adlington, Esqr.	xx ^{li}	
	Henrie Manwaringe, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
	George Leighe, Esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	} xxvii Octob ^r .
	William Lev'sage, Esq ^r	xxv ^{li}	
	Thomas Wilbram, Esq ^r	xl ^{li}	
	John Dutton, Esqu ^r	xl ^{li}	
	Sir Rolande Stanley, knight	xxv ^{li}	
	Sir Randall Brereton, knight	xl ^{li}	} xxviiij Octob ^r .
	Hughe Calveley, Esq ^r	xl ^{li}	
	Philip Oldfeild, Esqu ^r	L ^{li}	
	Willm Knighte, gent.	xl ^{li}	
	John Nutter, dean of Chester	xl ^{li}	
	Raufe Egerton, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
	George Massie, Esqu ^r	xxx ^{li}	
	Thomas Bunburie, Esq ^r	xxv ^{li}	
	John Bruen, Esqu ^r ...	xx ^{li}	
	Henry Birkened, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
	Thom ^s Jackson, p'son of Hawarden ...	xxx ^{li}	
	Thom ^s Colley, p'son of Malpas	xxx ^{li}	

Thom ^s Vernon, Esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	} xxix Octobr ^r .
Richard Wilbram of Namptwich, gent...	xx ^{li}	
Geoffrey Minshull of the same, gent	xx ^{li}	
Willm Church of the same, gent	xx ^{li}	
Henry Hardware, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
Richard Cotton, Esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	... xxx Octobr ^r .
Willm Whitmore, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	... xxxi Octobr ^r .
Ran. Arderne, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	} primo Novembr.
John Done, Esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	
Robert Huyde, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
Thom ^s Aston, Esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	} s'cdo Novembr ^r .
Hughe Davenport, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
Edward Cotton, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	... 3 ^d Novembr ^r .
Thomas Tochet, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	} 4 ^o Novembr ^r .
Willm Brereton of Ashley, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
Randall Manwaring of Pever, Esqr.	xxv ^{li}	... 5 ^o Novembr ^r .
Sir John Savage, knight	L ^{li}	} 7 Novembr ^r .
John Poole, Esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	
Rolande Dutton, Esqu ^r	xxv ^{li}	} xi Novembr ^r .
Thom ^s Marburie, Esqu ^r	xx ^{li}	
Randall Davenport of Henburie, Esq	xxv ^{li}	... xiiii Novembr ^r .
Peter Leighe of Lyme, Esqui ^r	xxx ^{li}	... xvj Novembr ^r .

So^m receyved, one thousand three hundred three score pounds.

H. Cholmdeley.

The names of suche gent. and others as have made defaulte concerning the said loane.

Answered he
wold pay at Lon-
don.

Sir William Brereton, knight	L ^{li}
Willm Davenport of Bromhall, Esqui ^r	xxx ^{li}
Edward Warren of Pointon, Esqui ^r	xxv ^{li}
Willm Tatton of Withenshaw, Esqui ^r	xx ^{li}
John Warde of Capesthorpe, Esqui ^r ..	xx ^{li}
Thoms Fyton of Sydington, Esqui ^r	xxv ^{li}

At London.	John Mooreton, Esquir	xx ^{li}
	Georg. Beverley, Esquir	xxv ^{li}
	Richard Massie of Grafton, Esquir	xx ^{li}
Said he wold take order at London. A poore gent. pleads insufficiency.	Thoms Brooke of Norton, Esquir	xxv ^{li}
	George Leycester of Toft, Esquir	xx ^{li}
	Edward Leighe of Baguley, Esquir	xx ^{li}
Salthew will take order at London, Furth of the country.	Sir George Beeston, knight	xx ^{li}
	Thomas Holcrofte, Esquir	x ^{li}
	John Starkie of Derley, Esquir	xx ^{li}
A younger brother, and pleads insufficiency.	Sir Edward Brabson, knight	l ^{li}
	Thom ^s Minshull of Namptwich, M'cer	xx ^{li}
	Edward Minshull, jun ^r of Namptwich	xx ^{li}

The Citie of Chester.

The citizens of Chester humble pray to be spared in regarde they defray their money for her matie upon transportation of soldiers into Irelande.	Thomas Smith, Esquir, late Maio ^r of Chester	xxv ^{li}
	Richard Birkenhed, Esquir, recorder of Chester	xx ^{li}
	Richard Brabande, alderman of Chester	xxv ^{li}
A man without lands, and of small abilitie. Alledgeth the most part of his goods to be in the fryshmen's hands, and thereby not able to lend at this time.	Robert Brerewood, alderman	xxv ^{li}
	Edmund Gamull, alderman	x ^{li}
	Valentine Broughton, alderman	x ^{li}
Attendant on y ^e r. ho. erle of Essex.	John Fyton, alderman	xx ^{li}
	Fulke Aldersey, alderman	xx ^{li}
	Willm Aldersey, alderman	xx ^{li}
	Willm Weld, alderman	xxv ^{li}
	Thom ^s Lyniell, alderman	xxv ^{li}
	Thom ^s Fletcher, alderman	xx ^{li}
	Roland Barnes, M'cer	xx ^{li}
	Peter Newhall, M'chand	xx ^{li}
	Alexander Coates, gent	xx ^{li}
	Henrie Hamnet, Drap'	xxv ^{li}

The clergie men in defaulte concerning the said loane.

Richard Gerrarde, p'son of Stopport	xxx ^{li}
Lyonell Sharpe, parson of Malpas	xxx ^{li}

Mr. Eton, p'son of Moberleyxx^{li}
 Mr. Massye, p'son of Wilmeslowe.....xx^{li}
 Rob^t Ireland, p'son of Christleton.....xx^{li}
 Som not rec^d990^{li}

Deade persons unto whom her M^{tie}'s pryvie seales were
 dyrected.

The ladie Leighe, of Lyme.

Duckworth, late p'son of St Maries, Chester.

The privie seale mistaken.

Henrie Waddington, vicar of Bureaston. No such person or
 place in this county.

The names of such as have payed their lone since a former
 certificat.

Thomas Brook, Esquierxxv^{li}.....xxi Novēbr. 97.
 Mr. Eton, p'son of Moberleyxx^{li}viij Decembr.
 Mr. Massy, p'son of Wilmeslowxx^{li}eadem die.
 S^r Edw. Brabson, knight.....l^{li}xiii Decembris.
 Georg. Beverley, Esquier.....xxv^{li}.....xv Decembr.
 Richard Gerarde, p'son of Stockport....xxx^{li}.....xx Decembris.
 Richard Massey of Grafton, Esquier...xx^{li} . . .xxii Decembris.
 Willm Davenport of Bromhall, Esquier.xxv^{li}.....xxiiij Decembr.
 Sumccxv^{li}.
 Of the citie of Chesterc^{li}.
 Toſlis of the loonne in Chesshyre..... MVJ.LXXV^{li}.

Endorsed August 1597,

The Loane, Chesshyre,

P. THO. KERY.

M.D.CLXXV^{li}.

Sir HUGHE CHOLMELEY,

Novembre 1597, the stat.

of the receipt for the same.



Mr. Eton, p'son of Moberleyxx^{li}
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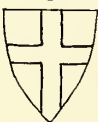
Montfort.



Clare.



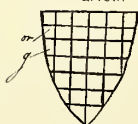
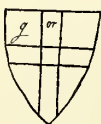
Burgh.



Gerrard.



Warren.



Mortimer.

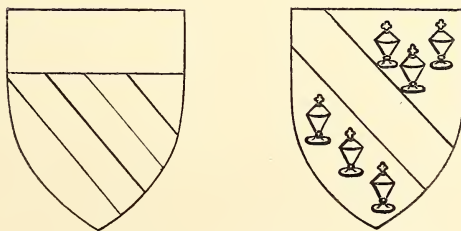


FROM THE FRIARY WINDOWS.



HISTORY
OF
WARRINGTON FRIARY.

EDITED BY
WILLIAM BEAMONT, Esq.



COATS OF ARMS ON THE FRIARY SEAL,
24th June, A.D. 1422.
Vide pp. 34, 35.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXII.

P R E F A C E .

“The sacred tapers’ lights are gone,
Grey moss has clad the altar stone,
The holy image is overthrown,
The bell has ceased to toll ;
The long ribb’d aisles are burst and sunk,
The holy shrines to ruin sunk,
Departed is the pious monk,
A blessing on his soul.”

(SIR WALTER SCOTT.)

IT is a matter of some surprise that, while the history of the larger religious houses in England has received so much attention, and been so thoroughly investigated, the history of those of the several orders of friars has been so little attended to as to have almost escaped notice. Dugdale and Tanner, in their exhaustive works, have left us abundant memorials of the Cistertians, Benedictines, Premonstratensians, Canons Regular, and others of the like kind ; but of the Franciscans, Carthusians, Hermit Friars and other mendicant orders they have written but little, which is the more strange as the houses of the latter were almost always placed in or near populous towns, and so came more under observation ; while the others, avoiding all such neighbourhoods, affected privacy and a remote seclusion.

A little reflection, however, will suffice to show us some of the reasons which attracted the attention of the great monastic writers so exclusively to the larger houses. The members of these rich orders exhibited in their architecture and the other arts a high degree of taste and refinement. They built magnificent churches, were lodged in rich and noble houses, and maintained great outward state. To enable them to do all this they industriously sought endowments wherever they could ; and hence they reaped an abundant store of charters, which, with their beautiful works in stone, have been the materials from which their historians have traced their history throughout its whole progress from its beginning to its close. It was not so, however, with the mendicant orders ; for they, disclaiming endowments and professing to live on alms, had scarcely any charters to show, while their houses were often mean and small, so that neither in their charters nor their buildings had they many memorials to leave behind them. And yet in their day, and while their religious zeal continued in its first fervour, their influence was not small ; they were more accessible, mixed more with the mass of the people than the higher clergy, whether secular or regular, and their ministrations in sickness, distress or sorrow were more acceptable.

“In misery’s darkest cavern known
Their useful care was ever nigh ;
Where hopeless anguish poured his groan,
Or lonely want retired to die.”

The hermit friars of the order of Saint Augustine had a house in Warrington, and although we do not know the exact reasons which first brought them there it is not difficult to conjecture some of them. The first house of canons regular of the order of Saint Augustine ever established in England was that founded early in the eleventh century by Henry I. at Nostell in Yorkshire. Religious novelties were of rapid growth in that age, and the new order soon numbered no less than fifty-three houses in England. The zeal, but not the popularity, of these canons regular had begun to wane before the middle of the thirteenth century; and when William Fitz Almeric le Boteler, the lord of Warrington at that time, was minded to found a religious house there, his choice fell upon the hermit friars of the order of Saint Augustine, then newly introduced into England, who, with the good name of Saint Augustine, had all the zeal which had distinguished the canons of his order at the beginning. But his choice was further influenced by some local circumstances. Winwick church, the one nearest to Warrington on the north, was then in the possession of the canons regular of Saint Augustine at Nostell, while the church of Norton, almost as near to Warrington on the south, was also in the possession of the canons of the same order at Norton priory. The neighbourhood indeed might then be said to be almost Augustinian.

The rule of Saint Augustine, which the Warrington friars followed, bound them to poverty, and to have all

things in common. The rich who entered the order were to sell all their possessions and give the money to the poor. The brethren were to receive nothing without the leave of the superior ; and if, through persecution or otherwise, they were driven from their home, they were to betake themselves as soon as possible to the same place whither their superior had retired. They were to employ the first part of the morning in labouring with their hands, and to devote the rest to reading. Every Saturday was allowed them to provide themselves with necessaries ; and on Sundays only were they allowed a very moderate quantity of wine. Whenever they went abroad they were to go in pairs. They were never to eat but in the convent, nor ever to receive either letters or presents in secret ; and they were enjoined to observe chastity. These, and a few other rules on the observance of charity, modesty and some others of the christian virtues, were the rules of the order, which were to be read every week in the presence of the whole house. In order to carry out more effectually the conventual vow of seclusion, each of the friars had a separate cell assigned to him, into which he was to retire for study or devotion, and where he might be free from the distraction of the *locutorium*, or common room of the friary.

The house of the hermit friars at Warrington, although it flourished for nearly three hundred years, and during that time played no unimportant part in the place, has remained hitherto without the history which it deserved. The reasons why it has escaped the notice of the monas-

tic historians have been already alluded to, but Time, and Truth his daughter, have their secrets in store for those who seek them ; and many of these relating to the Warrington hermit friars, which had been long hid, having lately come to light, have been thrown together in the following pages, and are now offered as a contribution towards the history of one of the minor religious houses.

W. B.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

EFFIGIES AND ARMS (from the friary windows).....	<i>frontispiece</i>
COATS OF ARMS (on the friary seal).....	<i>titlepage</i>
EFFIGIES AND ARMS (from the friary).....	<i>to face p.18</i>
TOMBSTONES (from the friary)	„ 59
FRAGMENTS (from the friary).....	„ 60

HISTORY OF WARRINGTON FRIARY.

CHAPTER I.

AMONGST the religious institutions which once exercised a great influence in Warrington was "The Friary," which has now passed away, leaving nothing but Friarsgate, the name of a neighbouring street, to mark the site whereon it stood :

Stat nominis umbra.

The Friary at Warrington was a house of Hermit friars, of the order of St. Austin. Dr. Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, says that these friars had their beginning in 1209, while others maintain that they were first brought into England in 32nd Henry III., 1248, by Clare, earl of Gloucester, who founded for them their house at Clare, in the diocese of Norwich. (Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i., pp. 211-212; Capgrave's work published by the Master of the Rolls, pp. 226-227; *Journal of R. Arch. Inst.*, 1869, p. 373.) On the other hand, it is said that all the Hermit friars, who were formerly called by a great variety of names, were brought into one company by pope Alexander IV., who styled them *fratres heremitarum sancti Augustini*. (*Antiquities of Oxford* in Hearne's

Textus Roffensis, p. 339.) Alexander wore the tiara from 1243 until 1261, and he probably consolidated the hermits into one body. We have a proof how soon the new order began to spread itself, since in 1252 we find Lanfranc, of Milan, the general of the order, despatching some of their body on a mission to this country, where, however, they had already effected a settlement under De Clare, in the diocese of Norwich. Religious novelties, when once introduced, were of rapid growth in that age. In a few years from their first arrival the Hermit friars had built their great house at Oxford, where their celebrated disputations bequeathed a name to the exercises for the degree of a master, which were long called "Keeping of Augustines." They had also commenced the erection of their house in London, and over the door had inscribed "MCCLIII." as the date. Some remains of this house, though of a later date perhaps, are, or at least until lately were, to be seen in the beautiful Dutch church in the Austin friars in London; and in the course of a short period the order had so prodigiously increased, in different parts of Christendom, that they reckoned up no less than two thousand convents of men and three hundred of women. No exact date can be fixed for the foundation of the house at Warrington, nor do we know with certainty the name or family of the founder, although many circumstances in its subsequent history point to the Butlers, who founded most of our early public institutions, as the founders also of this.

In the list of religious houses compiled by royal authority in 1261, no mention is made of the house of Austin friars at Warrington, but its origin could not have been long after that time, if we may judge from a fragment of one of the columns of their church, now preserved in the Warrington museum, and from the recorded fact that soon after the battle of Evesham, which was fought in 1265, we find Richard the Hermit carrying to Evesham the votive candle of Roger, rural dean of Warrington, one of the devotees who had been healed by calling to mind the martyrdom of Simon de Montfort, who was killed in that battle, and

whom that age styled St. Simon the Righteous, and honoured with a popular canonization. (Rishanger's *Chronicle*, p. 94.) But whenever, or by whomsoever, the friary at Warrington was founded, the selection of the site of the house there shows the wise discernment and prudent foresight of its architects, who were most probably the first tenants of its cloisters; for while the baron's house and the rectory were planted in a low swamp, with an alluvial foundation, and nearly all the remainder of the town was placed upon a cold unwholesome substratum of clay, they had the sagacity to discover, and the wisdom to choose, a gravelly bank, in which to lay their foundations secure from the damp which invades other parts of the town. No liquids found their way into the friars' cellars without the will of their owners.

The friars professing to have no endowments, for an obvious reason always planted their houses in the immediate neighbourhood of towns. Had they followed the example of the great religious houses and planted themselves in solitude, where there was no one to beg from, they might have wanted bread. Hence the distich:

Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat,
Oppida *Franciscus*, magnas Ignatius urbes.

St. Bernard valleys loves, St. Benet lofty peaks,
St. Francis towns, Ignatius cities seeks.

That the De Clares were the first to plant these friars in England, receives confirmation from the great honour paid to them in almost all their houses. In their house at Gresley, in Staffordshire, the arms of De Clare appeared, with those of their allied families of Vere, Beauchamp and Burgh. (Harwood's *Erdeswicke*, p. 223.) In the abbey at Shrewsbury they were found with those of Beauchamp, Mortimer and Warren; and in the friary church windows at Warrington they appeared with those of Burgh, Warren and Mortimer. And Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments* (p. 475), has this curious dialogue, supposed to take place between a secular and a friar, over the grave of Joan of Acre, the wife

of the stout earl of Gloucester, which gives us the reason why these arms occupy so conspicuous a place in the houses of the Austin friars :

A. This Gilbertis fadir was that noble knight,
Sir Richard of Clare, to sey all and sum
Which for freris love that Giles* hight,
And his boke clepid, De regimine principum.
Made first frere Augustines to Inglelonde cum,
Therein to duelle ; and for that dede,
In heven God graunte hym joye to mede.

Q. But leterally who was telle me,
This Ricardis wiff whom thou preisest so ?

A. The Countess of Hereford and Maud hight she,
Which whan deth the knotte had undoo
Of temporal spousaile bitwixt hem twoo
With divirs parcels encresid our fundation,
Liche as our monumentys make declaratioun.

Q. Of the first Gilbert who was the wiffe ?

A. Dame Maud, a ladye ful honourable,
Born of the Ulsters as she with ryff
Hir armes of glas in the est gable,
And for to God thei wolde ben acceptable.
Her lord and she with an holy entent,
Made up our chirche fro the fundament.
Now to dame Johan turne we ageyn
Latter Gilbertis wyff, as to forne seyde is,
Which lyeth here. — *Q.* Was she baryn ?

A. Nay sir:

Elizabeth she hight.

Q. Who was hir husband ? Sir John of Burgh,
Sire of the Ulsters, so conjoined be
Ulstris armes and Gloucestris thurgh and thurgh,
As shewith our wyndowes in housis thre.

* Egidius Romanus, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, and afterwards bishop of Berry, who, about 1316, was author of this book.

And then the dialogue goes on to show that Philippa, the daughter and heiress of Lionel duke of Clarence by Elizabeth de Burgh, married sir Edmund Mortimer.

In the *Christian Magazine*, a periodical which was issued at Manchester in 1843 and 1844, there appeared a strange story, which was reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian* of February 1st, 1851. The story gave a copy of a foundation charter of a chapel at Birch near Manchester, in the reign of Richard I., by which charter the chapel was made to be subject to the Hermit friars at Warrington; that is, a chapel which probably did not exist for centuries afterwards, was made over to a community that was not born for half a century after king Richard's death. The fact was that the pretended charter was a forgery, as the editor of the respectable paper in which it had been reprinted acknowledged with regret when his attention was drawn to it by a neighbouring antiquary.

The Franciscans, another of the mendicant orders, came into England some twenty or more years before the Hermit friars, for we read that they were sent into England from Fécamp in Normandy, on the 11th September 1224. (*Athenæum*, July 31st 1858, p. 130.) Leland, however, was mistaken when he said that the Franciscan grey friars, or Minorites, had ever a house in Warrington.

We are told that the habit of the order of the Hermit friars of St. Augustine was a black gown, with a cowl of the same colour from the head to the shoulders; under that a little white coat with a white list; and that they wore a girdle of leather fastened with a buckle of ox horn. Mr. Fosbrooke coincides in this account of their dress, and has a plate of a Hermit friar wearing it. (*British Monachism*, pp. 222, 286; and *Antiquities of Oxford*, p. 341.)

This dress was enjoined by Alexander IV. It came not, therefore, as their name did, from Augustine, which an old rhymmer questioned their right to assume, when, speaking in the saint's person, he said :

I, Augustine, bear no name of that rude pack
Of begging friars, who clothed are in black.

But in the *Clavis Calendaria* we learn that when Augustine returned to Africa in the year 388, he drew to him eleven other persons of reputed sanctity, and with them occupied a small place in the city of Hippo, where for three years he continued to pursue a life of study and religious observances, and it is to this humble beginning that we are to ascribe the rise and subsequent consideration of Eremites or Augustine friars, from whom sprang other orders. (Brady's *Clavis Calendaria*, ii. p. 138.)

Chatterton's introduction, in his *Bristowe Tragedye*, of the Augustine friars in a dress which they never wore, might have betrayed his forgery sooner, if it had been examined as it ought :

The freers of Saincte Augustyne next appeared to the syght,
Alle clad in homelie russett weedes, of godlye monkish plyghte,
Ynne diffraunte partes a godlye psauime most sweetlye they did
chaunt.

Behynde theyre backes syx minstrelles came who tuned the
strunge bataunt.

Before the end of the thirteenth century, though the exact date has not been ascertained, they had built their house, and were fast furnishing it with inhabitants ; some of whom, as we shall soon see, began now to seek holy orders at the hands of the bishop of Lichfield, then the diocesan of these parts. By degrees, also, they were acquiring means to keep up their house, by promising the religious services of their house in exchange for land and possessions. What was the style of their house, though it has now wholly perished, we may know from the few fragments of it still to be seen in the Warrington museum. *Ex pede disce Herculem* can hardly be said of the building however, for it was not large but small, and plainly built in the early English style, with lancet windows and multangular columns but little ornamented. The windows were filled with arms in stained glass, amongst which the coat of Simon de Mont-

fort, a hero in great favour with the friars, occupied a conspicuous place.

In the year 1292 Ralph Fitz Henry de Werington and Alicia his wife, recovered against William le Botiler, in an action then tried at Lancaster before sir Hugh Cressingham and others his companion justices in Eyre, five acres of land in Warrington, and by a deed, dated 22nd June 1292, they released these lands to the said William le Botiler, their lord, and in their release they describe four of these acres as lying within the close of the brethren of St. Augustine at Warrington, and the fifth as lying between the said close and the Pīrecroft [Pear-tree croft].

Their friary was now built and inhabited, and the Lichfield register tells us that at Burton, on the 11th December 1301, Geoffrey de Bovey, a friar from Warrington, was ordained priest, and Ralph de Staunford, another friar of the same house, was ordained an acolyte; and that in 1301 Jordan de Werington was ordained a deacon at Colwich. In December 1305 brother Jordan de Weryngton was ordained priest at Colwich, "ad tit. pat." Thus he had again to travel a long way for his orders in winter, at a time when the roads were bad and there were no public conveyances, which was perhaps the reason he allowed an interval of four years to elapse before he sought the priesthood. He went not alone, however, for brother William de Weryngton was ordained deacon at the same time, What a severe journey it must have been for these men to undertake at that time and in the winter! In a deed of sir William Buttler's, baron of Warrington, which was made not later than 1305, the baron expressly mentions the religious house at Warrington, by which is meant the Hermit friars, whom he designated as brethren of the order of St. Augustine; and in the next year, 1306, sir William Deyners of Daresbury remembers them in his will, and leaves them a legacy of half a mark. (*Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 539.) In the year 1308 their house was still growing in public estimation, and it procured for them from John de Boydell, lord of Grappenhall and Latchford, the right of free passage, without

toll or charge, for their wains through Latchford, in return for certain spiritual services to be rendered to the donor and his family ; but it is best to give the grant, which bears date at Warrington, in a translation in the grantor's own words :

To all the sons of Holy Mother Church, John Boydell, lord of Gropenhale and Latchford, wisheth health. Know ye that for the health of my body and the safety of my soul, the soul of dame Margaret my wife, and the souls of my heirs and of my parents living and dead, and of all the faithful dead, I have given to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Blessed Augustine at Warrington, a free passage through the village of Latchford for their wains by whatsoever name they may be called, so that every priest brother of the convent celebrate mass on the day of my anniversary for my soul, and the souls of my parents and of all the faithful dead. (*Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 447.)

The donor, who was anxious to secure privileges of this sort wherever he could, made a gift of a similar kind to the abbot and convent of Whalley in return for like services. (*Coucher Book of Whalley*, p. 409.) About this time two ancient Warrington Butler charters occur, the first of which mentions "William the frere mon," who was possibly the successor of Richard the Hermit, and the second prior of Warrington. The second deed mentions Gilbert the Anchorite, who may have been the third prior. (Lord Lilford's MSS.) On the 10th August 7 Edward III., 1333, the king addressed a singular request to the provincial of the Hermit friars. (Rot. Scot., i. 258.)

The Hermit friars of Warrington were at this period in the vigour of their youth. They were active and zealous, and their services in and out of their church were needed to supply the spiritual wants of this large parish, which had then only one church. The friars exerted a great influence, both upon the place and the time. Let us imagine ourselves passing along one of the narrow and picturesque streets of the old town, and coming at some sudden turn upon one of the cowed brethren, or perhaps the prior himself, hurrying in sombre robes on some

errand of charity or business, and giving, as we meet, the passing *Benedicite*.

A statute *de viris religiosis* was passed in the 7th of Edward I., intended to check the alienation of land to the religious houses. It was the aim of those houses to acquire donations of land for their support, which robbed the king and nobles of the services they were wont to receive from their tenants, land in religious hands being said to be in *mortmain*. But this statute, which was meant as a check to the great monasteries, was really a help to the lesser ones, such as our Warrington friars, whose chief dependance was not upon their acquired lands and possessions, but upon alms to be acquired by begging. (Southey's *Commonplace Book*, 3rd series, p. 107.)

While the order of the Augustinian friars was still young, it received a great stimulus throughout Europe from the high character and eminent piety of one of its members. Nicholas, a young man born at St. Angelo, in Italy, having heard one of the friars preach, was so moved by his sermon, that at the age of eighteen he professed himself a friar in their house at Tolentino, where in due time he was ordained a priest. He lived a life of great austerity, and obtained a wide-spread renown by his religious exercises, the effect of which reflected credit upon the Hermit friars in general; and afterwards, when he died, on the 10th September 1308, he was thought worthy of canonization, and became St. Nicholas of Tolentino. And thus the order received its first saint, and rose still higher in public favour.

The Warrington friars lost no opportunity of strengthening their stakes and enlarging their borders. Their next charter was granted them by a donor who had as many patronymics as a Welshman. It was granted to them on the 8th April 1335, by Henry fitz Robert fitz Radulf fitz Henry de Werington, who by it, for the safety of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors, and the souls of those his relations who should come after him (*parentum suorum predecessorum et aliorum parentum successorum*), released to the prior and brethren of the Hermits of St. Augustine

at Warrington, all his right to his land and tenements at Warrington lying between Aldreswell on the one side and the Millsteads on the other, and which lands at one end abutted upon Blanchemedes and at the other upon Arpefordehethes. (From a copy of the original.) The names of places have since been altered, or we might have identified the exact whereabouts of this gift.

On the 13th March 1360, friar Robert de Werington was ordained priest at Heywood. In the year 1364 mention of the friary at Warrington again occurs in the Lichfield register. On the 8th kalends of July (24th June) 1363, at Upholland, friar John de Knowsale, of Werington, had a grant for two years of the office of penitentiary throughout the diocese. On the 28th December 1366, when he was called prior of Werington, he had a renewal of the same grant for two years, limited however to the deanery of Werington; and on the 12th August 1368 the same grant was again renewed, and this time it was made to include the deanery of Manchester as well as Werington. This office of penitentiary or penancer gave him who bore it the power to hear confessions and, for a fine, which it was his duty to impose and moderate, to remit the punishment (Fosbrooke, *Brit. Mon.*, p. 169), which was a greater help to the friars' exchequer, and far better for them, than simple alms. Chaucer, who has introduced such a person under the name of a pardonere, says :

Upon a day he gat him more moneie
Than that the persone gat in monethes tweie,

(Prol. to the *Canterbury Tales*.) In February 1369, the friars found a new place in which to collect alms, for friar John, the Hermit, was then licensed, at Heywood, to celebrate divine service for two years in the chapel built at the foot of Warrington bridge. Our ancestors wisely thought, with old George Herbert, that "prayers and provender hinder no journeys."

On the 21st September 1369, friar Geoffrey Banastre, of Werington, received a grant, at Heywood, of the office of penitentiary

throughout the archdeaconry of Chester; and on the same day William de Eltonhede received a similar grant for the deaneries of Macclesfield, Middlewich and Frodsham. The Warrington friars had found the penancer's office profitable! On the 23rd June 1371, the same friar, Geoffrey Banastre, who was now called "*Sacræ Paginæ* professor" (professor of Holy Scripture), had his office of penitentiary renewed at Heywood; and on the 20th February following (probably because the work of pardoning had become onerous) friar William de Hardschagh, at the instance of the same Geoffrey Banastre, now become master in theology, had granted to him a faculty to absolve eighteen persons of the county of Lancaster from such sins as they should be willing to confess to him before the octaves of the following Easter. The number to whom the pardoner's power was limited (the same as the number of those upon whom the tower of Siloam fell), seems to suggest that these persons had all been concerned in the same crime, and were known and named in the licence.

The following ordinations of Warrington friars are extracted from the Lichfield register:

Friar Ralph de Marston ordained sub-deacon on the 19th February 1365.

Friar Richard de Apulton ordained deacon, at Colwich, on the 21st March 1365.

Friars Henry Newton and Richard de la Mare were ordained sub-deacons at Colwich on the 22nd March 1370.

Stephen Drap deacon, and John de Wuchin and John de Geldred priests, at the same time.

John de Holand ordained sub-deacon, and Richard de la Mare and Stephen Drap priests, at Colwich, on the 20th September 1371.

Friar John de Holand ordained deacon, at Colwich, and friar Henry Newton priest, on the 20th December 1371.

Friars Richard Eston and William de Wynterton ordained deacons, and John de Holand priest, at Colwich, on the 18th September 1372.

Friar Will de Wynterton was ordained priest, at Colwich, on the 18th May 1373.

Friar John Palmer was ordained priest, at Colwich, on the 19th September 1377.

Friar John Brown was ordained deacon, at Sallowe, on the 14th July 1378.

Friar John Thebaut ordained deacon, at Coventry, on the 24th March 1379.

Sunday the 13th November 1379 was a great day in the house of the Hermit friars at Warrington. Sir Thomas de Dutton had been indicted for entering the lodgings of Lionel, son of king Edward III., during the king's absence, and there slaying Michael Poynings; and his life had been stained with other crimes. (Collins' *Peerage*, vol. viii. p. 45.) His end now drawing near, he had need of prayers, and he desired to secure those of the friars of Warrington; and on the above day there was assembled in the chapter-house of the friars at Warrington a dignified company, amongst whom were Thomas, abbot of St. Werburgh's in Chester; Stephen, abbot of Vale Royal; Richard, prior of Norton; Roger, prior of Birkenhead; William de Eltonhed, prior of Warrington; and Henry de Towesdale, provincial prior of the order of Hermit friars, to witness the contract which was made between sir Thomas and the Hermit friars. And this was the agreement into which they entered: The prior of Warrington and his convent granted to sir Thomas Dutton knight a perpetual chantry; to wit, that a sufficient friar of their convent should be especially elected to pray for the salvation of sir Thomas, his children, and of Philippa his wife, and her parents, when they should die, at the great altar of their church, yearly for ever; and that their names should be written down in their martyrology; whereunto the prior and convent bound themselves, under a penalty of 3s. 4d., to be levied by the provincial prior upon omission of such form of service; and if for a week or a fortnight it were omitted, then must they double the fine omitted in manner aforesaid; if neglected for six months, then

upon pain of suspension ; if for a year, then upon excommunication until the time omitted should be made up. And this agreement was confirmed by Henry de Towesdale, provincial prior of the order in England, with a special injunction that the said persons be yearly twice commemorated before the whole convent — once at the first entrance of the prior of Warrington into the convocation house yearly ; the other time on the election day of a fellow prior for a provincial convocation. Dated at Warrington.

Men are the same in all ages : Epicurus left his garden to his school, upon condition that philosophy should continue to be taught in it, and that he should there be yearly commemorated for ever. (*Diog. Laer.*, x. p. 18.)

This deed is a further proof that the friary was still growing in estimation ; or sir Thomas Dutton, who had great need of such vicarious services as were then so much esteemed, would hardly have resorted to it, and with so many stipulations secured the advantage of the services of the Hermit friars of Warrington.

CHAPTER II.

BLANCHEMEDE, as we have seen, is mentioned in one of the early charters as one of the abuttals of the friary close, and upon this close the friars cast a longing eye, and probably thought, if they did not say,

O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum,

and for a consideration the owner was willing to give it ; and by his deed, dated at Warrington, on the 18th June 1332, William le Botiller, lord of Warrington, “gave to God and the blessed Virgin, and the friars of St. Augustine, at Warrington, serving God there,” all that his meadow in Warrington, called Blanchemedede, free of all secular service, and to be held only in *frank almoign*, an old tenure by which the receivers were to say masses and do divine service for such persons as the donor thought fit to designate ; who, in this case, were expressed to be himself, his wife Elizabeth and their ancestors.

The law was not very well settled in that age. Magna Charta required to be renewed many times before it was well established, and almost every private deed was confirmed by the donor or his relations several times, and sometimes at long intervals, before the title was complete. Thus on the 6th January 1371 the successor of the donor of Blanchemedede released to the Hermit friars, who could not afford to lose so valuable a possession, whatever title he might be supposed to have in that land.

About this time another friend of the Hermit friars appeared in the person of Roger de Sonky, who, probably from a like

consideration for their religious services, granted them an acre and a half of land, lying near the friary.

Now, however, they began to be haunted by the fear of forfeiture under the Mortmain act, for not having first obtained the royal licence to make these acquisitions; but this defect they managed to cure, by obtaining the king's charter, dated 26th May 1372, which, after reciting William le Butler's gift of Blanchemede, and Roger de Sonky's acre and a half, went on to say that the king, for the advancement of the house, as he expressed it, was pleased to confirm both those gifts, and to remit the forfeiture which had been incurred.

The great body of the friars did not take holy orders, but they had always a certain number in the house who were either priests, or deacons, or in minor orders. The following is a list taken from the Lichfield register of the Warrington friars who obtained orders about this time. The first name which occurs is a French one, and its owner was probably a Frenchman of some foreign house of religion :

Friar John Thebaut ordained priest, at Colwich, on the 22nd September 1380.

Friar Gregory Banastre ordained sub-deacon, at Colwich, on the 30th March 1381.

Friar Nicholas Spynk ordained a sub-deacon, at Colwich, on the 21st September 1381.

Gregory Banastre ordained deacon the same day.

Nicholas Spynk deacon, and

Gregory Banastre priest, on the 21st December 1381.

Friar Walter Bardeney ordained deacon, and

Friar Nicholas Spynk ordained priest, at Colwich, on the 31st May 1382.

Friar Henry Trewlove ordained deacon, at Colwich, on the 20th September 1382.

Friar Rob. de Sefton ordained a sub-deacon, at Colwich, on the 19th September 1383.

About this time the friars seem to have been favoured by

parliament, both directly and indirectly. The act of 7 Edward I., which was meant to curb the greater monasteries, rather helped than hindered the friars, who did not profess to acquire land; and now, in 1380, when parliament ordered a new and strange subsidy to be raised, under which every priest, regular or secular, and every nun, was to pay 6s. 8d., and every man and woman of the age of sixteen, whether married or unmarried (except known beggars), was to pay 4d. (Holinshed's *Chronicles*, p. 380), all the clergy and all the religious were caught by it, except the friars, who, under their recognized character of mendicants, wholly escaped it. (Smollet's *Hist. Eng.*, iv. p. 38; and Henry's *Hist. Eng.*, viii. pp. 169, 170.) The subsidy might well be called strange, for no act to collect it exists on the statute book, and it was the attempt to levy it which gave rise to the insurrection of Wat Tyler, with whom and his party the friars were in such favour, that when it was determined that all the other clergy were to be slaughtered, the friars only were to be spared. (Hume's *Hist. Eng.*, iii. p. 2.) Their lives were thus safe; and while the exemption from the tax saved their exchequer, the sale of such chauntries as that granted to sir Thomas Dutton was a means of enriching its coffers. The Carmelite friars at Chester, for a similar grant to one of our neighbours, sir Gilbert de Haydoc, in 1348, had received forty marks, which was a considerable sum at that time; and sir Thomas Dutton, a quarter of a century later, for a like grant, would hardly pay a less sum. (From the original grant in the possession of W. J. Legh esq., M.P.)

But the friars had another fruitful source of income in the letters of fraternity, which they were in the habit of granting for money to those who desired them, and who in that age were so numerous that the letters were kept ready written, with a blank left for the name to be put in when a purchaser was found. One of these, which had probably been taken out for sale and lost before a customer was obtained, for there was still a blank for the name, begins by professing to have heard of the purchaser's devotion to the friars, and then grants him in life and death a full partici-

pation in the benefit of all the masses, prayers, abstinences, night-watchings, labours and good works of the order, and ordains that after his decease all the brethren, in full chapter, shall commend his soul to God in their prayers, and if his death should happen to be made known to them, the like masses and prayers should be offered for him as for any other of the brethren. (*From the original in the possession of J. Ireland Blackburne esq.*)

At the founding of sir Thomas Dutton's chantry, the friary saw a goodly number of abbots and priors met to witness it, but it was shortly to see a still greater gathering of knights, gentlemen, and other laymen collected within its walls, to attend a court of the lord-marshal of England. The church of the friars was now complete, and in an enviable state of splendour. On its steeple, with its bell turret, were carved the arms of the Butlers, its founders. Forty or more shields, emblazoned with colours and gilding, glowed over head and covered the chancel ceiling; amongst which were those of the founders and patrons, and those of Beauchamp (probably of that sir John Beauchamp who was honoured with a burial in the house of the Hermit friars of Clare), Butler, Dutton, Holland, Lathom, Fytton and others; and in harmony with these were

"Storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light."

These windows weré filled with the emblazoned arms of Simon de Montfort, Clare, De Burgh, Warren, Mortimer, Banastre, Butler, and Atherton. In them also were those three full-length figures of Thomas earl of Lancaster, sir Thomas Banastre and sir Robert de Holland, all with their proper arms, which may be seen engraved in the *History of Lancashire*, where, by mistake, they are stated to have been in the windows of the parish church. (Baines's *Lanc.*, first edition, vol. iii. 660.)

Thomas earl of Lancaster, having risen against the king, was beheaded at Pontefract on the 22nd March 1322. Like Simon de Montfort, after his death he was accounted a saint; and Ro-

bert de Werington, a monk of Whalley, but no doubt a native of this place, had a brief to collect money to build a chapel over his remains. Sir Robert de Holland, who at first was a great friend and supporter of Thomas earl of Lancaster, is supposed to have deserted his cause at the last. Sir Thomas Banastre was member of parliament for Lancashire in 1314.

The earl and his two companions who were commemorated in the window had no doubt been benefactors to the friary; but the circumstance that sir Robert de Holland lost public favour after the earl's death, shows that the window must have been put in before that date, and before the earl rose in arms against his sovereign.

We are sometimes apt to think these memorial windows are of modern introduction, but this is a mistake. De Caumont thinks that painted glass became common in England in the thirteenth century, and Dallaway says it was connected with architecture in the reign of Henry III., and reached its zenith in the fifteenth century. (De Caumont's *French Archæology*, and Dallaway's *Discourse on Architecture*.) But its use then and now was prompted by different motives. Then it was a pious work which would bring down blessings on its author. In *Pierce Plowman's Vision* one of the friars asks such a gift from a penitent and reminds her of the reward:

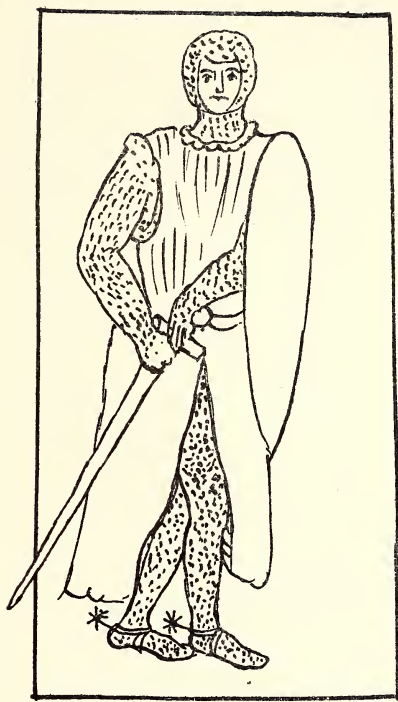
“Then he assoyled her soon, and sithen he said,
We have a window in werking will set us full high,
Wouldest thou, the glase, the gable and grave therein thy name.
Seker (secure) should thy soul be heaven to have.”

(*Pierce Plowman*, fol. 12.)

On the floor of the church there lay a cross-legged figure of wood, dressed in chain-mail, wearing the sword, shield and spurs of knighthood, and over all the camise, the robe whose name is the original of the word *chemise*, which has now grown to be the French name for a man's body linen, and the English name for a woman's. A rude drawing of this figure may be seen in the



Sir William le Boteler
and Alicia his mother



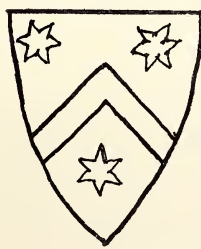
Sir William fitz Almeric
le Boteler.



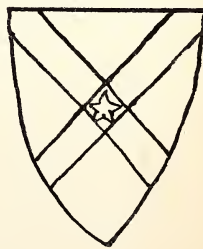
Atherton.



Atherton.



Bruche.



Standish.

entrance hall of the Warrington museum. These wooden monumental effigies in ancient times were not uncommon. In Gloucester cathedral there is a beautiful one of this kind to Robert Curthose, son of William the Conqueror, who died in 1137, which is painted in colours, and represents the deceased in chain-mail, but which Mr. Westmacott thinks could not have been erected until some years after the decease of Robert Curthose. (*Archl. Journal*, No. 68, p. 306.)

William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, who was buried in Westminster abbey in 1296, is commemorated by a similar effigy in oak. (Bloxham's *Mon. Architecture*, 142.)

William fitz Almeric Butler, who was probably the founder, and to whom we are inclined to ascribe the monumental effigy in wood on the friary floor, was sheriff of Lancashire in 1256. And we are disposed to believe that the fragmentary inscription *Lanceloti comitatis*, the jumble of some ignorant transcriber, was meant for *Lancastriæ comitatus* (*vicecomes*), or sheriff of Lancashire, and was intended to apply to William fitz Almeric. (*Harleian MSS.*, 139 fol. 22, and 2129 fol. 188.) It used to be thought that the crossed legs denoted the crusaders, who

“The vow performed, return to lie
In cross-legged effigy,
Devoutly stretched upon the chancel floor.”

William fitz Almeric Butler, who lived under a prince who led one of those adventures to the fiery East, might well have sustained the character of a crusader, but neither in the close nor patent rolls (both of which have been searched) does his name appear among the companions of prince Edward, although no mention of him at home occurs for several years after the death of Henry III.

It has been suggested lately that the crossing of the legs in such an effigy denotes that the deceased had either vowed to go on the crusade, had been high sheriff of his county, or had served in some other office of dignity. (*Notes and Queries*, Oct. 14, 1865, p. 312.)

It is singular that in the church of St. Bride's, in Glamorganshire, there occurs on an incised slab a cross-legged effigy of another Boteler, not very different in design from William fitz Almeric's. Like his, this effigy wears chain mail, and is covered with the camise, and round it is this inscription :

“Johan le Boteler git ici
Deu de sa alme eit merci. Amen.”

(Cutt's *Monumental Brasses*, pl. xxxii. 2.)

Edward III. being at Liverpool, on the 23rd October 1323, addressed a letter to this John Boteler, requiring him to aid in preventing the miracles said to be wrought at the graves of Henry de Montfort and Henry de Wylington, who had been lately executed for rebellion. (*Fœdera* ii. 536, 7.)

When the warriors of the cross followed Richard I. to the Holy Land it became necessary, as every one then was clad from head to foot in complete steel, that each should bear upon his shield some device by which he might be known from his fellows, and hence the custom of wearing coat-armour became general, which gave rise to that great variety of devices to be found on ancient shields. Across the middle of one shield there was a fesse or band of a different colour or metal from the shield itself; the upper part of another had a chief, another bore a chevron, a fourth a cross, and a fifth a saltire, all of which, besides being personal distinctions of the wearer, answered at the same time the purpose of strengthening the shield, and were not merely, as some have supposed, painted devices to ornament it. These devices on shields were very numerous, but the above may serve by way of example.

The assumption of a shield which belonged to another was a serious wrong, which, in mediæval times, gave rise to many quarrels, some of which did not end so harmlessly as that we are about to relate. Amongst the Genoese whom the French king hired to make war against the English, there was a knight who bore an ox-head painted on his shield. This device a nobleman

of France challenged, and so long did they strive that they must needs fight for it ; so, at a day and place appointed, the French gallant came into the field richly armed at all points. The Genoese, all unarmed, came also to the field, and said to the Frenchman : " Wherefore should we this day fight ? " " Marry," said the Frenchman, " I will make good with my body that these arms were mine ancestors' before thine." " What were your ancestors' arms ? " quoth the Geonese. " An ox-head," said the Frenchman. " Then," said the Genoese, " there needeth no battle between us, for this I bear is but a cow's head." (Lower's *Surnames*, p. 60.) In this case an unskilful artist had nearly led to a mortal battle, but another shield—a shield *azure*, with a bend *or*, in which the artist was not to blame—led to a dispute which lasted very long, and but for the earl-marshal's court might have ended fatally. One part of the proceedings of this court, which were conducted with great solemnity, the friary at Warrington was destined to witness.

In the year 1385, when king Richard II. advanced into Scotland at the head of an army, sir Robert Grosvenor of Cheshire appeared in the host, wearing the above shield, and his right to it was immediately challenged by sir Richard Scrope, who claimed it as belonging to him by long descent from his ancestors. Sir Richard Scrope, the challenger, though he had been chancellor of the kingdom, had not been trained in a law-school but in a school of arms, in which school his life had been principally exercised. In 1346, when he was still a youth, he fought at Crecy, and either by sea or land he had been engaged in battles, public or private, almost ever since. He valued very highly the shield *azure* with the bend *or* as an heraldic inheritance, which he said his family had borne since the conquest. The Carminows of Cornwall, however, despised his claim as being but modern in comparison of theirs, for they averred that they had borne the very same arms since the days of the British king Arthur, and sir Richard Scrope was obliged to allow their claim. He was in no humour, however, to allow a similar claim to sir Robert Grosvenor,

and upon his challenging it, the king caused public proclamation to be made throughout the host, that all who were interested in the dispute should appear at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the 20th August in the same year. The cause was thought to be too important to be settled at once, or without hearing evidence of usage on both sides in the court of the lord-marshal. Before it was decided there had been examined upon it in open court at various times and in different places—for the court was migratory—one sovereign prince, one duke, three earls, three barons, three abbots, two priors, eleven bannerets, and nearly one hundred and fifty knights, gentlemen and others; amongst whom was nature's true nobleman the poet, Geoffrey Chaucer. In the progress of the cause the court appointed sir William Bromborough, parson of Aldford, sir John Botiler baron of Warrington, sir William Gerard knight, and sir Nicholas Vernoun knight, commissioners in the cause; and these four commissioners appointed the 12th September 1386 to meet and hear evidence in the cause in the friary at Warrington. Let us imagine ourselves entering by the gateway of the friary, passing through the church with its painted windows glowing in the sunlight of that autumn morning, and finding ourselves in the chapter-house, which has been fitted up as a court for the occasion. The four judges occupy a tribunal over which the royal arms and their own are painted. William de Eltonhede, who is still the prior, occupies a raised seat at the side, and four scribes are seated at a table in front of the judges on which lies a painting of the disputed shield. Sir Richard Scrope appears only by his proctor, but sir Robert Grosvenor is present in person, and there is a crowd of spectators. Among the witnesses then examined were John de Massey, sir Lawrence Dutton, Nicholas de Rixton, Roger prior of Birkenhead, William de Rixton, and Thomas le Vernon. John de Massey, one of these, swore that he had seen the challenged arms upon the cross at Bradley, in Appleton, Cheshire, and that they were painted there by the Grosvenors more than half a century before. After sitting three days at Warrington the court adjourned to Lancaster,

but not until it had gone on for three years more was the cause finally decided.

Sir William Bromborough, one of the judges who sat at Warrington, who was once rector of St. Olave's in Chester, but who at the time when the court sat at Warrington was rector of Aldford, deserves a passing notice, as one of those who adhered to king Richard II. after his fall. When the king was deposed he resigned his living, and obtained leave to go on pilgrimage to foreign parts, which so resembles the conduct of the good parson in Dryden's paraphrase of Chaucer, that we might almost fancy the portrait to have been meant for him.

“The tempter saw him, too, with envious eye,
And as on Job demanded leave to try,
He took the time when Richard was deposed,
And high and low with happy Harry closed.
He joined not in their choice because he knew
Worse might and often did from change ensue,
Much to himself he thought, but little spoke,
And undeprived his benefice forsook.”

In the year 1332, more than half a century before the great Scrope-and-Grosvenor gathering in the friary, a fine was levied at Westminster of the Butler lands at Warrington, which mentions Richard *Augustinesmogh* as one of the tenants. This Richard, it seems probable, was Richard Utrington, then the prior of the friary, who has written his name in an ancient manuscript copy of the statutes at large from Magna Charta to 14 Edward I. (1286.) By a strange accident this copy has found its way to Bingham's Melcombe in Dorsetshire, where it now is in the library and is the property of a gentleman who has kindly furnished this inscription from it: “Ricus Utring, brother of the order of the Eremite Friars of St. Augustin, in the convent of Weryngton, near Westchester.” (*Notes and Queries*, May 6th 1865, p. 353.) This book (the convent library had but few books) contained the before-mentioned statute *De viris religiosis*, and the prior by reading it was probably induced to urge his

patron to obtain the king's license for his convent to take lands in mortmain. The friars generally were in favour with the great at an early period. In 1299, when king Edward I. was advancing towards Scotland, he gave the Austin friars of Penrith iis. viii*d.*, but when he returned after success had crowned his arms he more than doubled his gift, and presented the friars with vs. viii*d.* The thank-offering does not seem large, but the friars professed poverty, and the king saved his purse and at the same time humoured their profession.

On the 19th September 1388, Thomas de Malton, a Warrington friar, was ordained a sub-deacon at Coventry, and on the 18th September in the following year he was ordained a deacon.

On the 26th February 1389, John Leyland another friar from Warrington was ordained a deacon at Lichfield, and on the 28th May following he was ordained a priest.

Sir Lawrence Dutton, one of the witnesses who were examined at Warrington in the Scrope-and-Grosvenor controversy, and who was then forty-five years of age, in the year 1392, feeling, although he was not old, that his end was near, made his will on the 26th January in that year, and died very shortly afterwards. He seems to have been satisfied that the friars of Warrington had fulfilled their chantry contract with his father, for he left each of the four orders of religious brethren at Chester and Warrington *xxd.* (*Hist. Chesh.*, i. 479.) Legacies of this kind were no doubt expected to be repaid in masses, but, in thus remembering the Warrington friars, sir Lawrence was influenced by his family connexion with the Butlers, as well as by a recollection of the bargain his father had made with the friars. A copy of the seal to sir Lawrence's will is in the Warrington museum. Sir Lawrence seems to have stood somewhat in the relation of patron to the prioress and nunnery of Our Lady at Chester, for the inquisition post-mortem shows that he held for them lands in Lache-by-Marleston and Claverton, with houses in Chester as well as the manor of Ness, and two parts of the manor of Kingsley for himself. (*Inquisitions* p. m., 15 Richard II., p. 149.)

Friar John Tydeswell was ordained a sub-deacon at Colwich on the 23rd September 1391, a deacon on the 9th March, and a priest on the 31st March following. Friar John Pulford was ordained a sub-deacon at Chester on the 21st September 1392, a deacon at Haywood three months afterwards, and in another three months a priest at Kenilworth. Nearly his whole time in that year must have been taken up in travelling to and fro' for his holy orders.

On the 4th October 1394, William Mainwaring of Peover, being about to go to the wars in Guienne, made his will, in which amongst other legacies are the following :—

“Itm lego Knowsley pror de Weryngton, I. mar. et conventui ejusdem I. mar.” (*Mainwaring Papers.*)

A mark to the prior and a mark to his convent must not be considered as great gifts; but the gift gives us the name of another prior of Warrington, John de Knowsley.

On the 21st February 1395, friar John Banastre, of the convent at Warrington, had a license to hear confessions throughout the archdeaconry of Chester.

In 1397, after the earl of Arundel had been beheaded, and his body buried in the church of the Austin friars in London, it was reported, and in that age readily believed, that his head had been miraculously re-joined to his body; upon which pilgrimages were made to his tomb until the king, whose mind it disturbed, caused the body to be disinterred and exposed to public view. But the votaries would not believe the evidence of their senses, and at length the friars were ordered to take down the earl's escutcheon and to conceal his grave with a new pavement. (*Smollett's Hist. Eng.*, iv. 196.) Simon de Montfort, Thomas of Lancaster, and the earl of Arundel, who died violent deaths for political causes in the times in which they lived, were all exalted to the rank of saints. It had been better if they had so lived as to deserve such a title before as well as after death.

Friar William Staynfield of Warrington was ordained a deacon at Lichfield on the 23rd March 1397.

Friars John de Knowsley and William Hardshaw had license

to hear confessions on the 15th September 1398; and friar William Staynfield was ordained a priest, and friar Thomas de Lythorpol a sub-deacon at Lichfield, on the 26th September 1398.

The vigour and piety which the friars had shown at the beginning of their career had begun to flag under the influence of success. Worldliness sprang from their wealth and popularity, and they became the object of Wycliffe's vehement invectives. "Men note many harms that friars do in the church. They spoil the people many ways. They steal poor men's children," are his words.

Piers Plowman also attacked them in verse for their neglect of the poor, while for the sake of gain they were constant in following the rich :

"Freers followed folke that were riche,
And folke that were pore at little price they set,
And no cors in 'hir kyrkeyard nor kirke was buried,
But quick he bequeth hem ought or quit part of his debts."

(Bloxham's *Monum. Arch.* 10, in notis.)

About the year 1400 there had grown up a practice of taking young boys and allowing them to become professed in the friaries without the consent of their parents or guardians, and it was to this that Wycliffe alluded when he spoke of the friars stealing children. The evil had become so general that in 4 Henry IV. (1402) the commons prayed parliament to ordain that no one enter any house of any of the four orders of friars, Austins, Preachers, Carmelites, or Minors, under the age of twenty-one, and that none of such friars should receive any such into their order, habit, or profession under pain of incurring the statute of provisors. To which the king made answer that no friar of any of the said orders should receive into his order any infant under the age of fourteen, without the consent of his father, mother, or next friend, and no friar should entice, inveigle, or persuade any such infant to leave the order into which he had been received for one year; and if any infant should be so received or enticed away, and a

request should be made to the provincial, warden, or prior of the order, and should not be attended to, the chancellor should have power to take away such infant and punish such provincial, warden, or prior. And this ordinance was signed by John Zouche, master of the friars Minors ; William Pikworth, provincial of the friars Preachers ; William de Welle, provincial of the order of the friars Augustines ; Stephen Parryngton, provincial of the order of friars Carmelites. (*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iv. 502.) And the principals of the four orders were afterwards ordered to be sworn not to receive infants into their houses without the consent of their parents.

Richard Sonke, a Warrington friar, was ordained a deacon on the 22nd September 1402, and a priest on the 20th December following.

On the 22nd February 1404, Geoffrey Banastre, then prior of Warrington, had a license to hear confessions which was dated at Eccleshale. This Geoffrey Banastre, on the 3rd June 1419, when he was styled *in utroque jure bacalaureus*, was presented by the abbot of Whalley to the vicarage of Blackburn, where in the year 1453 he founded a chantry of the yearly value of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and died about October 1457. (*Lanc. Chuntries*, 152, 3.)

On the 13th June 1405, Richard Bredon, a Warrington friar, was ordained a sub-deacon at Eccleshale ; and on the 19th September 1406 John Merbury was ordained a sub-deacon at Colwich, and a deacon at the same place on the 26th February following.

CHAPTER III.

AT the beginning of the year 1410, the friars of Warrington were engaged in finishing a new hall in their convent, and they had sufficient interest at court to obtain the king's warrant to his keeper of Northwode park, in Cheshire, part of the possessions of the duchy of Lancaster, to deliver to John Goldycar, of the Austin friars of the convent at Warrington, four oaks to make boards and shingles for the completing of their new hall then building. (*Duchy Register.*) John Goldycar was then probably the prior of Warrington.

The time at which we are now arrived, the end of the reign of Henry IV., was a critical one for the religious houses. In that reign the church had been powerful enough to procure a penal statute against the Lollards, the followers of Wycliffe and the precursors of the reformation; and Sawtree, a London clergyman, had suffered death at the stake for his religious opinions. But no sooner was Henry IV. in his grave, than his son the fifth Harry, desirous of engaging his subjects' attention, a policy which his father had recommended, meditated a war with France. War cannot be carried on without money, and the cry was that the temporalities of religious houses should be confiscated and employed upon it, being valued thus:

"As much as would maintain to the king's honour,
Full fifteen earls and fifteen hundred knights,
Six thousand and two hundred good esquires."

This threat was alarming, but the danger was averted by the commons granting to the king instead two tenths and two

fifteenths, besides the lands of all the alien priories in England, and by the clergy granting the king a large sum of money in addition as a free gift. These alien priories were religious houses to the number of 110 in the whole, which were dependent on certain abbeys in Normandy, to which they had belonged when that province remained united to England. (Hume's *Hist. Eng.*, iii. 91 ; Henry's *Hist. Eng.*, ix. 42.) It was hardly to be expected that they should be loyal to the king of England in a war against France, and the English priories and friaries consented to their being sacrificed, when the king, by founding a friary of Augustines and another of Carthusians near his palace at Sheen, showed at the same time that he had no unfriendly feeling towards friaries that were his own. (*France and England under the House of Lancaster*, 93.) It was to these, which he calls chantries, that our great dramatist makes the king allude in his prayer on the night before the battle of Agincourt :

“ ——— Think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown !
I Richard's body have interred anew ;
And on it have bestowed more contrite tears
Than from it issued forced drops of blood.
Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
Who twice a day their withered hands hold up
Toward heaven, to pardon blood : and I have built
Two chantries where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still for Richard's soul !”

(*Hen. V.*, a. iv., s. ii.)

There were some of the king's subjects, however, who looked with no favourable eyes on the Austin friars, and there seems to have been some threat of forcibly pulling down and destroying the walls of their great friary in London ; and to prevent the execution of it the king's council had speech with the lord mayor upon it on the 27th May 1415, and thereupon issued orders that no destruction or demolition of the friary walls should take place, nor should anything be done therein but by the advice of Whit-

tington (the celebrated Richard, three times mayor of London), Walderne, Chichele, and Crowmer, all of whom had passed the civic chair. (*Privy Council Proceedings*, ii. 168.) In the same year Hugh Tiryngton, an Augustine friar of Lincoln, being charged with wandering about from place to place without the consent of his superior, a warrant was issued to apprehend him and deliver him to friar William Birchall, of the town of Caen. (*Rotuli Normanniæ*, i. p. xxix.) The king was, however, very properly determined to hold the friars to their strict rule, and to allow no irregularity in the government of their houses ; and, that their body might be kept in strict order and rule, he issued his royal license to Peter de Verra, of Tolosa, prior-general of the Austin friars, to visit, with twelve persons in his train, all the priories in England, and to enforce therein the due observance of discipline. (*Fœdera* ix. 185.) It is to be hoped the Warrington friary received the visitor and benefited by his report, which, if faithfully made, would be a curious document.

Sir William Butler, the lord of the manor of Warrington, was one of those knights who sailed in the expedition to France with the king. He carried with him a retinue of nine men-at-arms, or (counting himself) ten, and thirty archers ; and had he not, like Courtney bishop of Norwich, and many others, been cut off by dysentery before the walls of Harfleur, he might have shared in the great glories of Agincourt. He was not even spared to see the surrender of Harfleur and the king's barefoot procession to the church to return thanks for it. His body was brought over and buried in the friary under an alabaster slab, with his effigy in armour and that of his wife recumbent on it, and an inscription which stated that he died at Harfleur on the eve of St. Matthew the apostle, 1415. About the month of September in the year 1413, the slumbering persecution of the Lollards revived, and the bishop of London, wishing to bring sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, to acknowledge his error, sent sir William Butler's brother, John Butler, to persuade him to receive the citation ; but his lordship peremptorily refused

to listen to John Butler or to admit the summoner to his house. He was afterwards taken by sir John Charlton at Bromartts in Montgomeryshire, where he had taken refuge with his Lollard friends. His captor calls him sir John Cobham "myscreant and unbuxome to the lawes of God." (*Claus. Roll*, 8 Hen. V., m. 24., dors.) In December 1417, sir John suffered martyrdom in St. Giles's in the Fields. (*Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, 435.) On the 18th September 1417, friar Richard Dalton of Warrington was ordained deacon, and on the 18th December following he received priest's orders; and the next year John Cressewell a Warrington friar, was ordained a sub-deacon at Lichfield on the 26th March, a deacon on the 24th September, and a priest on the 17th December of the same year.

The John Butler who has been already mentioned, and of whom, as he was a testamentary benefactor of the friary, we shall hear more, was in the service of Henry V. at this time. On the first year of the king's reign he was sent with Hugh Standish, Robert Rodyington, and William Troutbeck to convey Carnyan, an esquire of the duke of Burgundy, to Sandwich, and the receiver of Dover castle had orders to pay them 20*l.* for their journey. (*Cheshire Chamberlain's Acct.*) We are told that shortly after this time the king made a treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and the visit of Carnyan, who was probably his envoy, seems a natural preliminary to it. (*Hume's Hist. Eng.*) This John Butler, describing himself as of Eccleshale, at Michaelmas, 1 Henry V. (1413), joined sir William Clinton in giving a portion of land to maintain a priest in Bentley church, Smercote. (*Dugdale's Warwickshire.*) He was now become an usher of the king's chamber, and being like another John, a Lackland, except for an estate for life in Crophill, which his brother had given him, the king bestowed on him the wardship and disposition in marriage of Thurstan de Ormeston. His ward had lands both in Lancashire and Wiltshire, and the gift thereof promised to be lucrative. (*Dodsworth* vol. lxxxvii. p. 91.) He received also a similar grant of the wardship and lands of William Lucy, a name which Shakspeare has

made famous, and this grant helped still further to improve the soldier's exchequer. William Lucy the ward afterwards became sir William, and was much employed by king Henry VI. in France and elsewhere. (*Privy Council Acts*, vi. 147, 148 and 154.)

John Butler was next summoned to join the expedition to France, and he sailed with the king having three archers in his retinue. (Nicholas's *Agincourt*, 377.)

Mindful that he was mortal and that royalty afforded no exemption from the perils of war, the king before he set out made his will, by which he left a legacy of 100*l.* a piece to John Butler and his fellow soldier Nicholas Merbury, whom he styles ushers of his chamber. (*Fœdera* ix., 61, 292.) Merbury took five lances to Agincourt. (Hunter's *Tract*, 46.)

John Butler did good service at Agincourt and, having returned safe, made some of his fellow soldiers at home regret that they were not there also. Arthur count of Richmond was one of the prisoners taken on that great field, and John Butler purchased the custody of him from William Meryng his captor, and paid him for it xx. marks. (*Privy Council Acts*, ii. 278.)

On the 30th May, 4 Henry V. (1416), when Nicholas Merbury again engaged to attend the king for a quarter of a year, he was paid *xiiid.* a day for himself and each of his men-at-arms, and *vid.* a day for every archer (sir Peter Leycester lib. C, 285^a), which may show us the rate at which John Butler was paid.

In 1417 the king commissioned John Butler and Ralph Leyntall to treat with John duke of Britany for the observance of a truce, and to endeavour if possible to convert the truce into a peace. (*Fœdera* ix., 515, 521.)

The next year the king ordered his treasurer at Chester to pay to John Butler and William Pope, who like John Butler had been at Agincourt, 30*l.*, in part of a sum of 60*l.* granted to them for three years out of the rents of Hugh Venables of Kinderton, deceased, and which, by reason of the minority of Hugh's sons, had devolved on the king towards repayment of the debt in which Thomas de Dutton knight, deceased, stood indebted for the

voyage to Harfleur. (*Cheshire Chamberl. Accts.* 5 Henry V.) This case is the reverse of that put by the duke of Norfolk in his plea before Rich. II.:

“My sovereign liege was in my debt,
Upon remainder of a dear account
Since last I went to France.”

(*Rich. II.*, a. i., s. i.)

In 1418, John Butler was a commissioner of musters, an office for which by his military experience he was well fitted. (*Fœdera* ix., 544.) And the same year, probably in reward of his services, the king on the 21st January (1418), granted to him and John de Kyngsley of Nantwich, the wardship of John fitz John Griffyn knight, and the custody of all his lands in Betherton, Grayste, Saltsych, Wyghtereton, and Wylaston during the minority of the said John fitz John, they rendering 8*l.* for the same yearly. (*Ches. Records.*)

In 1419, John Butler had the honour (which shows how highly he was appreciated) of being appointed a commissioner to treat with France for a truce. (*Fœdera* ix., 813.)

His continual employment in the busy affairs of the time, joined to the hardship of a soldier's life, had made John Butler prematurely old, and on the 22nd February 1420, feeling his end approaching, he made his will. By this will he leaves his body to be buried in the parish church of Warrington, in the chapel where his parents were buried. He leaves xx. marks to the repair of Warrington church, and xx. marks to the repair of the bridge there. He remembers the four orders of mendicants in London (from which London would seem to have been his usual place of residence.) The friars of the four friaries in Chester, Weryngton, Preston, and Lancaster are also to have an alms for the repose of his soul. He appoints his fellow soldier Nicholas Merbury, and William Garnet of Warrington, “*juris peritus*,” executors of his will, and he makes Mr. William Troutbeck, and Richard Walker, rector of Warrington, his supervisors. (See the will at Lambeth.)

William Garnet, one of the executors, was made the king's "serviens ad legem" for Cheshire and Flintshire, on the 11th June, 4 Henry V. (*Ches. Records.*) This will bears marks of his affectionate remembrance of Warrington, the place of his birth. After making his will he lingered three months, and died on the 26th May following.

Though the friars were still the objects of the satirist's scoff, their prayers and services nevertheless continued to be sought and valued. Walsingham, who wrote about this time (the reign of Henry VI.), says the friars of every order, like curs, challenged part of the bodies of all great persons dying, every one snatching for a piece of a dead corpse. Still the privilege of having a chantry within their precincts continued to be highly appreciated, and those who were able were willing to purchase it. In the year 1422, sir John Bolde of Bolde, knight, who in 4 Henry IV. (1403), had been retained to serve the king at Conway, and, ten years afterwards, was made captain and governor of that important castle and town, and who, in the king's wars in France, had probably seen much service, and was doubtless an important person in his day, purchased from the Warrington friars a chantry in their church. Brother Nicholas Spynk, reader in sacred theology (*sacræ theologiæ lector*), who was then their prior, and his convent, on the 24th June 1422, entered into an agreement with the knight and dame Elizabeth his wife, to grant, and did then grant, them a chantry at St. Augustine's altar in the body of their church, where from day to day mass should be said for the said sir John and dame Elizabeth, and for the souls of their ancestors and of dame Emma the late wife of the said sir John. This grant was the occasion of a great gathering in the priory; and amongst others who were present to witness it, were John abbot of Whalley, Thomas de Ellerbeck prior of Burscough, Henry de Halsall archdeacon of Chester, John lord Stanley, sir Peter de Legh and sir Henry le Norreys knights, Hamon le Mascy, John Sonke, and William Garnett "the Warrington lawyer," of whom we have heard before. The grant of this chantry has preserved to us the

only specimen of the friary seal, which on the one side bore the Butler arms, and on the other a shield partly composed of those of Simon de Montfort differenced with a chief. (*Kuerden's MSS.*, Coll. of Arms; from a copy taken by Dodsworth from the *Bold Deeds.*)

On the 14th June 1427, Hugh Arosmyth, a Warrington friar, was ordained an acolyte, and on the 20th December following a subdeacon. On the same 14th June, William Sonky and Robert Weryngton were ordained subdeacons at Colwich, and the former was ordained a deacon on the 20th December following, and a priest on the 28th February afterwards, at which time Robert Weryngton was also ordained a deacon.

Alicia Warburton, the widow of Peter Warburton, and by birth an Atherton of Bickerstath, made her will in the year 1428, and by it she bequeathed to each of the four orders of friars the sum of xl. pence. Her will was proved before the rural dean of Warrington in Prescott church on the 22nd May in that year, and attached to it is the rural dean's seal, of which a copy may be seen in the Warrington museum.

But the amount of Alicia Warburton's testamentary bounty was far surpassed by that which the friars next received. On the 3rd January 1436, Richard Sherburn of Mitton, one of whose ancestors, Alicia, the widow of Richard, son and heir of sir John Sherburn, afterwards married sir John Butler of Warrington, made his will, and acknowledging the connection of his family with Warrington, he remembered in his bequests, among others, our Warrington friars. The will, which was proved at York in 1440, contains these legacies:

"I gif and bewythe to the freers of Lancastre xxs. of silver, and the freers of Preston xiiis. ivd. of silver, and to the freers of Weryngton xiiis. ivd. of silver, and to the freers of Appilby xiiis. ivd. of silver."

(*York Wills*, by Surtees soc., ii. 76.)

Agnes, widow of the above Richard Sherburn, following her husband's example, on the 3rd November 1444, made her will,

by which she left to the freers of Preston *xxd.*, to the freers of Lancaster *xxd.*, to the freers of Weryngton *xxd.*, and to the freers of Appulby *xxd.* (*Id.*, p. 106.)

On the 18th September in the same year Nicholas Marbury, a Warrington friar, was ordained priest at Colwich.* Legacies seem at this time to have flowed in upon the friary. In the year 1456 sir Geoffrey Mascy made his will, dated 1st March, and in it is the following bequest :

"I bewethe to ychon of the iiii. Orders of Freyey, to syng ychon a trentall of masses and to pr'ye for me, xiiis. *iiiiid.*"

A copy of the seal to this will is in the Warrington museum.

In 1460 sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby made his will, in which there is this bequest which benefited the Warrington friars, though they are not specially named in it :

"Item lego fratribus de Lancastria, xls., et cuilibet conventui fratrum infra comitatum Lanc. et Westm. vis. *viiiid.*"

(*York Wills*, by Surtees soc., ii. 252.)

In the same year Henry Cowper, a Warrington friar, was ordained a deacon at Lichfield on the 19th December.

More than three centuries before the dissolution of the religious houses in England, there had grown up among them a custom of forming associations for a mutual interchange of prayers, which was carried out in this way : When the prior or other benefactor of any of the associated houses died, notice was sent to all the others, stating the day of the deceased's death ; such favourable circumstances in his character or history as might be thought fit ; with a few references to passages in Holy Scripture, and earnestly desiring the supplications of the associated houses for the repose of the departed soul. The notice, which was in the form of a roll, had many names. It was called either lamentatio, commen-

* Was this John Butler's fellow soldier who thus took refuge in the sanctuary of the church, and chose the Warrington friary for his home from affection for his fellow soldier ?

datio, planctus, suffragiorum petitio, or suffragiorum supplicatio. It had usually an ornamented heading, which was often illuminated and adorned with a representation of the deceased being placed in his tomb. It bore at the top the name and order of the religious house which sent it out, and every house visited, as an evidence of its having been so visited, was expected and required to write its name, title, and a short prayer upon the roll. This inscription, which was called a titulus, in the case of Durham priory ran thus :

“Titulus eccles. cath. Dunelm. B. Mar. Semp. virg. et S. Cuthberti presulis ordinis S. Ben. — Anima domini prioris et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant.

“Vestris nostra damus pro nostris vestra rogamus.”

We may honour the affectionate reverence for a dead friend which first prompted these services, but none knows better than a saint that posthumous prayers will wipe no stain from his robe, and that except for the indirect good which is the result of all benevolent effort for others, these accumulated prayers were but vain repetitions.

The roll was sent out from the parent house by a brief-bearer, who was neither an ecclesiastic nor always a literate person. He carried with him a letter to the houses he visited recommending him to them, and asking hospitality for him ; but, except an occasional penny from some religious house which he visited and where he was favourably received, he had no remuneration besides his food. The brief-bearer's task was neither a short nor an easy one, for the associated houses were many and far apart. The priory of Durham, for instance, was associated with 639 others, to all of which he had to carry his roll. Institutions, however well intended, and however good in their beginning, will degenerate, and so the mortuary or bede roll at length degenerated into mere form ; the briefs came to be accounted a nuisance, and the bearers were called by ill names. One monastic poet thus wrote of them :

"Spare, oh ye vultures, oh we pray you spare,
Nor come with news of death our house to scare."

And again :

"No night owl's note more gloomy to the ear
Sounds, than your tidings of the grave and bier."

Their wandering life brought the brief-bearers much into company, and had a tendency to make their lives at variance with the solemn message they bore. They told, in their long circuits, strange tales of what they had seen and heard, and this ill habit acquired for one of the Durham messengers the name of the "lies maker."

The attention of ecclesiastical antiquaries has only lately been drawn to these mortuary or bede rolls, and by their inquiries on the subject three of such rolls have come to light, which in the years 1416, 1464 and 1482 were brought by the brief-bearer from Durham to the house of the Hermit friars at Warrington. On these the name or titulus of every house he visited has been written by some member of the house with a promise to fulfil the ordinary request :

"Vestris nostra damus
Pro nostris vestra rogamus."

"For yours our prayers we say,
Give yours for ours we pray."

When the brief-bearer in 1464 brought his roll to Warrington, asking prayers for William of Ebchester and John Burnby, two friars of Durham, one of the Hermit friars, or some member of the house, entered the usual titulus upon it, and spelt it *verbatim et literatim*, as follows: *Tytelus Fratrum Eremitarum sancta Augustine Werryng town et anima omnyum fidelyum defuc-dorum per masericordiam Dei in pace rey quest cant amen, &c.* (*Durham Ob. Roll*, Surtees soc., 39.)

The scribe, who thus contrived to break Priscian's head in nearly every word of this inscription, may be lauded for his inge-

nuity, but not for his Latinity. There were learned persons in the friary at Warrington at this time, and we may charitably hope and believe that none of the friars, but rather some person of no higher rank than the brief-bearer — possibly the porter at the convent gate — wrote this blundering titulus. At all events, his production makes the story credible, which tells of the garbling, by an ignorant hanger-on of the Franciscans, of that beautiful Latin grace before meat and after :

“Benedictus benedicat
Benedicto benedicatur”

“Franciscus *franciscat*
Francisco *franciscatur.*”

The scrawling hand in which the titulus at Warrington was written was quite of a piece with its Latinity.

CHAPTER IV.

ON the 7th March 1466 dame Cecil Torboke, the lady of Torboke, made her will, in which there are the following bequests :

“I will that the Blacke Frerys of Weryngton have iiis. ivd. Also I will that my sonne Richard [who perhaps was a priest] have my hallynge boke and chales, and such thyngs as belong to a prest to synge with, and all the brewing vessels that belongen to me ; also the Englysche boke of Hermit Hampole.” (*Hist. Lanc.*, iv. 8.)

Incongruous things are oddly jumbled together in this lady's legacy. A sacred vessel and sacred books to her son, and a priest's furniture, do not seem to accord well with the set of brewing vessels with which they are coupled. Hampole, from which the hermit took his name, was situated near Doncaster, and had in it a large convent of nuns. Although the nuns were of the Cistercian order themselves, they seem to have preferred to have a friar to hear their confessions, and it may be taken as a proof how high the friars of the four orders then stood in the Papal favour, that in the year 1275 the archbishop of York wrote letters to the prioresses of Hampole and Appleton, and authorised, nay, even recommended them, to choose their confessors from the friars minors and preachers. (*Antiquitates Furnesienses*, 85.) The hermit, whose name was Richard Rolle, was born at Hampole, and there where he had lived he died, and was buried on the 29th September in the year 1349. He was a man of much learning, and equal virtue. After passing some years in diligent study and in acquiring polite learning, he obtained a

doctor's degree. But seeing with abhorrence the dissolute lives and corrupt morals of the time, from which some even among the clergy were not exempt, he bade farewell to the world, and wholly devoted himself to a hermit's life, in which he persevered to the end, uniting with wonderful simplicity, singular austerity and mortification of the flesh, a devout contemplation of things divine. He embraced the hermit's life that he might escape the world's allurements, and submitting himself wholly to the divine will, consult his soul's health, and win others to virtue by the force of his own example. Partly whilst he was in the world, and partly after he had retired from it, he wrote a number of works all abounding in sound doctrine and solid piety, and exhibiting the sweetness of a christian spirit, of which this extract affords an example :

“ He that noweth well and con se
What he is, was, and schal be,
A wiser man may be told
Whether he be young or old
Then he that con al other thing,
And of himself hath no knowing.”

After his death his sanctity was enhanced by reputed miracles, and, in process of time, he came to be ranked amongst the church's confessors. (*Pitsæus de Illustribus Scriptoribus*, p. 425.) Of his many works, that called *Stimulus Conscientiæ*, the *Pricke of Conscience*, written in verse both in English and in Latin, was probably the one left by dame Torboke's will to her son.

In the year 1477 three Warrington friars were ordained ; William Smyth a priest on 31st May, and John Tykel and John Borton respectively a deacon and a subdeacon on the 20th December.

At the burial of John Waynflète in 1481 we have the following entry, which shows that the friars were considered indispensable attendants at funerals, and that their attendance was paid for in indirect as well as direct ways. The entry is as follows : “ Pd. to iiij freers, for waste of their torches, iijs.”

The friars at this time seem to have possessed lands in Warrington, of which we have not heard before, for on the 13th July 1482 we have an indenture which is curious as being an early specimen of English. It professes to be made "be twene Ric Browne pr'or of the Ffrer Austyns of Weryngton on that one p'tie wt. the comyne assent of the co'vent of the same place, and Hug' Arosmyth and Agnes his wyfe on that other p'tie." By this lease the prior and convent granted, and to farm let to the said Hugh and Agnes, a parcel of ground lying in Warrington "callete" the Ashen orchard with "a kylne edifierte on the same ground." To hold to the said Hugh and Agnes during "thair lyves," and after the decease of the said Hugh and Agnes the said prior and convent granted the said parcel of ground and "kylne" to William, James, Gilbert, Ralph, Thomas, Margaret, Amice, Elizabeth, Ellen, Grace and Alison Arosmyth, (the eleven) children of the said Hugh and Agnes, during their lives and the life of the longest liver of them :

"With free entree and outgate to the said p'cell of ground and kylne during the said terme, for the qwech p'cell of ground and kylne the said pr'or and co'vent graunten their selfe fullye contente and payte for the terme of xxi. yer' next foloyng aft'r the date of these p'sents."

And after the said term of xxi. years was ended :

"The forsaid Hugh, Agnes and children graunten to paye or mak' to be payete to the pr'or co'vent a jerly iiis. iiiid. at the festez of Saynt Martyn, in wynter, and the nativite of Saynt John Baptiste by even porcons. Also the said Hug' and Agnes graunten to shyfte a cestren at thys tyme stondyng wt'in the frers and sett hitt wt'in the forsaid p'cell of ground, and mak a sufficient howse awer the same cestren at their awen costes. P'videt allwaye that hitt schall be lawfull to the said pr'or and co'vent to occupye the said kylne and cestren yerly duryng the said terme for makyng of thair malte to the use and expence of thair howse as fars ij tymes in the yer, so that the gyfe sufficient warnyng therfor."

The inference to be drawn from this lease is that the friars' resources were at this time at a low ebb, for they anticipated by a present payment their future rent for twenty-one years ;

and, not being able to alter their own premises, they stipulate for the necessary removal of the cistern, and the building of a house over it, at the expense of the lessees. It is to be observed, however, that they prudently reserve the right to use the kyll twice a year to prepare the malt for brewing their own beer. The friars, very wisely as it would seem, brewed their own ale.

The number of friars in England was so very great that, according to one author, it amounted at one time to as many as thirty thousand. (Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 649.) An army like this must have pressed heavily upon the body politic by helping to eat the honey they did not make. The Hermit friars had houses at Lincoln, Newark, Burnham in Buckinghamshire, Gerlyston, Shrewsbury, Boston, Norwich and many other places. At Shrewsbury they are said to have introduced the miracle plays, and to have acted them in a sort of amphitheatre in the quarry. The martyrology of the friars at Norwich contained a very long calendar of all their Augustinian saints and benefactors; but in their monastery they had also a chapel of *scala cœli*, the ladder or stair to heaven. (*Notes and Queries*, May 7 1859, p. 384.) The chapel of *scala cœli* took its name from the holy stairway which was removed from Jerusalem to Rome, and up which it was accounted a meritorious act of penance for the devotee to ascend on his bare knees. There was a chapel of the same name at Windsor, which being afterwards removed to Westminster, Margaret of Richmond obtained the pope's bull of indulgence, by which all those who said or heard mass in it were to have equal remission of sins with those who heard mass in the parent chapel of the same name at Rome. This chapel, the latest novelty of the day, was in great favour with dying men, and, in consequence, it came in for many legacies; and the masses of *scala cœli* attracted so much attention that bishop Bale, one of the early reformers, who a few years later was very severe upon them, in one of his works makes the king charge the clergy with extorting money

“For legacys, trentalls with *scala cely* masses,
Whereby ye have made the people very asses.”

But a more modern writer has given us his idea of another scala cœli, or stairway to heaven, in the following lines, of which the translation is a paraphrase :

“Scala ad cœlum
Perseverantia bona
Patientia in adversis
Obedientia in preceptis
Patientia in vitâ
Contritio et confessio
Cognitio tui
Caritas.”

(*Notes and Queries*, June 12th 1852, p. 558.)

“He that would climb to heav’n above
Must first remember heav’n is love,
To know himself he next must learn,
And feel for sin a deep concern ;
Patiently walk the narrow way,
Nor from the holy precepts stray,
Repine not when his trials come,
They come to lead him nearer home ;
Whoso is steadfast to the end
Will by this stair to heav’n ascend.”

The order of Hermit friars of St. Augustine from time to time contributed its due proportion to the number of learned men who appeared in those ages ; and one of these, Thomas Penketh, entered the order within the walls of the friary at Warrington. Thomas Penketh was one of a family of gentlemen who had been long settled in the neighbouring village of that name, and who bore for their arms a shield *argent* with three kingfishers *proper* ; one of the Penkeths we find entered his pedigree at the Herald’s visitation in 1613. Thomas was born at the family place, probably about the year 1437. He was a younger son, for the family arms, which appeared in the friary windows, and which were probably placed there in his honour, were distinguished by a label. From the friary, which he pro-

bably left before taking holy orders, Penketh proceeded to Oxford, where, in the study of philosophy and the sciences as well as in acquiring a knowledge of theology, he made such progress that he attained the highest honours that the university had in store for her best scholars and divines. Subtle in intellect and wonderfully acute in scholastic disputation, he became so diligent a follower and so close an imitator of the "Subtle Doctor," as Duns Scotus, founder of the sect of Scotists, was called, as almost to rival in his greatest niceties that renowned scholar and schoolman himself, and at length it was said of him by the learned that he was as like his master as milk is to milk or as one egg is to another. So completely did he succeed in making all his master's works his own, that it was commonly said he could reproduce the whole of them from memory if they should happen to be lost. The great fame of his ability and learning having made his name known abroad as well as at home, he was pressed to visit Italy, and this falling in with his desire

"To see fair Padua, nursery of arts,"

and being offered the professorship of theology in the celebrated university of that city, with a liberal salary, he forthwith proceeded thither. He remained at Padua for some time; and while there, at the request of the university and his scholars, he prepared for press, and printed, it is believed at Venice, some of the most important works of Duns Scotus, a copy of one of which, his *Quidlibet*, printed in the infancy of the printing art, and dated in 1474, forms one of the most curious specimens of early printed books in the Warrington museum and library. Its title-page or colophon, which, as usual in that age, is at the end, shows that Penketh was the editor, and that the printer was not a little vain of his art, and of his own proficiency in it:

"Hæc Albertus ego Stendal colibeta magister,
Altiloquentis Scoti formis uberrima pressi,
Religione sacra, et diva celeberrimus arte,
Clarus et ingenio Augustini ex ordine Thomas

Impressum purgavit opus studio integer omni,
Anglia cui patria et generis cognomine Penketh."

"Skill'd and most famous in the printer's art,
With zeal to use it on religion's part,
I, Albert Stendal, did these precepts rare,
Of the great Scotus, put to press with care,
Which Thomas Penketh, of St. Austin's school,
Native of England, did correct by rule."

In the year 1477, while he was still at Padua, Penketh printed at Venice his Commentaries *super secundum sententiarum* of John Bonaventura, the celebrated cardinal and saint of the Roman church, who was commonly called "The Seraphic Doctor." Penketh, whose life up to this time had not been spent in idleness, sustained no loss, but rather increased his reputation for learning, by his sojourn at Padua. Besides these works, Pitsæus, from whom our account of Penketh is principally derived, gives a long list of others which, either written or edited by him, enjoyed a good reputation in their day (*Pitsæus' Relationes Historicæ*, p. 675.) On his return to England, about the year 1480, Penketh was created provincial of the Hermit friars of the order of St. Augustine in England and Ireland, and installed in their great house the Austin friars in London. But the great reputation he had gained by a life which had hitherto been unblemished he returned home to lose. When Richard, duke of Gloucester, after the death of Edward IV., forgetting "how sin will pluck on sin," was meditating how he could possess himself of the crown, he called to his counsel such persons as he thought, either by power or policy, were most likely to aid him. Among those with whom he thus took counsel was sir Edmund Shaw, the lord mayor of London, a man eager for advancement, and who he hoped might, for private ends, incline the city to favour his views. Among churchmen he looked out for such as had wit and were held in some esteem by the people for their learning, and who at the same time were not troubled with an over-scrupulous con-

science. One of these was John Shaw, clerk, the lord mayor's brother, and another was friar Penketh, two doctors of divinity, who were both great preachers and much esteemed by the people, but who, Holinshed says, "had more learning than virtue, and more fame than learning." A life spent as Penketh's had been in dealing with the subtle sophisms of casuistry, was not likely to make him very strong in resisting a powerful temptation, and the wily Gloucester thought he saw in him one with whom he might tamper; and so, as we learn from our immortal dramatist, when he summoned doctor Shaw to meet him, the summons included friar Penketh also :

"Go, Lovel, with all speed to Doctor Shaw ;
Go thou to Friar Penker—bid them both
Meet me within this hour at Baynard's castle."

(*Richard III.*, a. iii. s. vi.)

And to this unhappy selection by the protector of two of his instruments we are indebted for the only mention of any Warrington townsman which occurs throughout the pages of Shakespere.

The sequel of this summons we are told by the chroniclers. Shaw preached "a sermon at Paul's cross in praise of the protector before his coronation, so full of tedious flattery that no man's ears could abide it." It was thought that Penketh was not in the protector's secret before the coronation, but, as is common, he yielded to flattery afterwards, and at Easter in the following year, many months after the coronation, he attempted to preach a sermon at St. Mary's hospital in favour of the protector, but his voice refused its office, and he was obliged to descend from the pulpit before he had half finished his sermon. Penketh lost his good name, and both the preachers lost their honesty. Doctor Shaw, who never came abroad after his sermon, soon sickened, and died of very shame. But Penketh outlived the discredit he had brought upon himself and his order, and was poorly rewarded by the protector with a pension of 10*l.* a year for his

life. (Hollinshed and Speed's *Chronicles*, and *Harl. MSS.*, 433, 127, *Cat.* i. 279.) Though he outlived the usurper, in whose cause he had made shipwreck of his character, he did not live very long to enjoy the pension which was the poor price he had obtained for it, for on the 21st May 1487 he died in the house of the Austin friars in London, and was buried in their cemetery. It is sad to think that Penketh returned to England to sully his name. If he had died at Padua before his return home, he had gone to the grave with honour. His fall from integrity not only lost him his character, but brought discredit upon his order.

CHAPTER V.

ON the 9th June 1498, Thomas Harrison, a Warrington friar, was ordained a deacon, and John Roberts, another Warrington friar, was ordained a priest; and these ordinations are the last from the friary which occur, or at least are the last that have been discovered. It is possible, however, that some subsequent ordinations may have been overlooked. The ordinations ceasing so immediately after Penketh's fall and death must be taken as one proof of the ill effect his conduct had had upon his order. Until that time numbers of good and learned names are to be found on the bede-roll of the Austin friars. Nicholas of Tolentino, their first saint, has been already mentioned. In 1290 they lost Thomas Borstal, a learned Hermit friar of Norwich, who, after attaining great honour at home, betook himself to Paris, and there became a doctor of the Sorbonne and a professor of theology. He wrote several works on scholastic divinity; and dying at Norwich, was buried in his monastery there in 1290. Robert de Worksop, one of the active agents of Edward II., who raised him to a bishopric, was a Hermit friar of Tickhill. In 1319, the king sent him to Rome to hasten on the work of making Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, a saint. The bishop, a Lancashire man, had been chancellor to the king's father, and had filled the highest offices in church and state with honour. He was probably the last English bishop ever honoured with canonisation. Of Cantilupe a beautiful character is given in the "*Lives of the Saints*," which may make Lancashire proud of him; but his canonisation is there placed ten years too soon. (Butler's *Lives*

of the Saints, under Oct. 2, and *Fædera*, ii. 385.) Benedict of Norwich, a Hermit friar of that place, who was an eloquent preacher and a good divine, became his bishop's suffragan, and died at Norwich in 1340. In the same year died also George Grandfelt, a Hermit friar of Northampton, who after lecturing on philosophy and divinity at Cambridge travelled to Rome, became secretary to the cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and was afterwards made bishop by Benedict XI. He returned to England with letters of commendation from the cardinal to the bishop of Winchester. In 1347 Geoffrey Grosseld, another Hermit friar, became bishop of Ferns. John Goodwick, a Hermit friar of Lynn, who studied first at Cambridge and afterwards at Oxford, where he became prelector in divinity, was raised to the office of provincial of his order for England and Ireland, and died at Lynn in 1360. In 1366 Robert de Ask Eaton, a Hermit friar, became bishop of Kildare. William Flete, a Hermit friar, was so devoted to solitude and heavenly contemplation, that, hearing of certain of his order in Italy who had resolved upon adopting a stricter rule, he hastened thither to join them, and remained with them to his death. In his contemplations he is said to have had a revelation of the woes coming upon England, and in his letters to have warned the provincial of his order of them. He died in Italy in 1380. Ralph Marham, a Lynn friar, who died in the same year, besides many other works, wrote a history of the world from its beginning to his own time, with an account of every king and kingdom, with its beginning, progress, increase and decay. John Hickley, an Augustinian hermit, who died the next year, was a doctor in theology, and of him it was said that he might take up the words of the Psalmist and say, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." He wrote a great book against Wycliffe and his followers. Thomas Winterton, a Hermit friar of Stamford, who died in 1382, was made a doctor at Oxford, and became provincial of his order in England. In a conference with Wycliffe, who had been his friend, and probably his fellow-student at

Oxford, he tried, but in vain, to win the reformer to his views. Simon Southray, another friar, who died the same year, became also a doctor at Oxford. He held disputations against Wycliffe, and wrote several books to confute him. Thomas Ashbourne, a Hermit friar of Stafford, died the same year. Having finished his studies and obtained a degree at Oxford, he strove with all his power to resist the doctrine of Wycliffe, and after writing and speaking much upon it, he was one of the synod which met at London and condemned the reformer's doctrine. In 1387, when the poet Petrarch was buried, the high honour of pronouncing his funeral oration was committed to the learned and eloquent Bonaventura da Praga, a hermit friar of the order of St. Augustine. (Campbell's *Life of Petrarch*, ii. 312.) In 1390 flourished Roger Twyford, who had the sobriquet of Roger Goodluck. He was an Austin friar, whose chief skill lay in his acquaintance with the works of the early fathers, but he was a man of prayer, and wrote, amongst other works, *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum* (The way of the mind to God). William Egmond, an Augustinian hermit of Stamford, who flourished in 1360, was an acute philosopher, a profound divine, and a vehement and eloquent preacher. He went to Rome, where the pope raised him to a bishopric, and he was afterwards made suffragan bishop of Lincoln. Besides other works, he wrote *Sermons for the People*. Peter Pateshull, an Austin hermit friar, who lived in 1390, became doctor and professor of theology at Oxford, where he obtained a great name until he adopted the opinions of Wycliffe, when, says his prejudiced biographer, "his last state became worse than the first," which is as much as to say that the first was bad. He wrote ballads and rhymes, and other like trifles, against the begging friars. Before he adopted the opinions of the Reformers, he wrote several works against heretics. John Waldby, a hermit friar of York, wrote many religious works, both in English and Latin. He was so looked up to by his order that by common consent they elected him their provincial. Beloved alike by clergy and laity, on the death of

Neville, archbishop of York, he was chosen to succeed him ; but the pope declined to confirm the election, and translated him to the archbishopric of Dublin. He died about the year 1393. In the following year, George Canton, a hermit friar, was made bishop of Cloyne. Thomas Edwardston, prior of the hermit friars at Clare, in Suffolk, became a doctor of theology in Oxford, and was afterwards confessor to the duke of Clarence, by whose favour he was made a bishop in Ireland. He wrote several works, and at his death, which happened in 1396, was buried in his house at Clare. In 1399, John Waltham, a hermit friar, was made bishop of Ossory. Robert Waldby, probably a brother of the John Waldby before mentioned, was an Austin hermit friar. After pursuing his studies diligently at home, he went with the Black Prince to France, to pursue his studies at Toulouse, which he followed with such success that, besides becoming skilled in the canon and civil law, he acquired a knowledge of medicine, and became an exact philosopher and theologian. He was made a bishop in Gascony, or more probably in Aquitaine, afterwards he was successively bishop of Man, Dublin and Chichester, and finally archbishop of Dublin, on which occasion these lines, preserved by Weever in his *Funeral Monuments*, were written :

“Tunc Robertus fratris Augustini,
Ascendit in cathedram primatis Paulini.”

He wrote many books, and, dying in 1339, was buried at Westminster, with this epitaph :

“Hic fuit expertus quovis in jure Robertus
De Walbi dictus, nunc est sub marmore strictus,
Sacrae scripturae doctor fuit et geniturae
Ingenuus medicus et plebis.”

In 1406, Alexander Totington, an Augustine hermit friar, was made bishop of Norwich.

William Wells, otherwise Fountains, a hermit friar of Lynn, became doctor of theology at Cambridge. He was remarkable for his skill in disputations and for his learned sermons. His

various acquirements, with his great prudence and knowledge of business, gained him so much popularity with his order that they made him their provincial in England for more than twenty years, and in that character he signed the ordinance, already mentioned as made in the reign of Henry IV., respecting young friars. He left many works behind him, and died in 1421, having chosen his place of rest at Lynn, where he was born.

In 1422, John de Rishberry, an Augustinian hermit friar, was made bishop of Emly. John Lowe, doctor of divinity at Oxford, prior of the Austin friars in London, and afterwards provincial of the order in England, was a benefactor of many books to the library of the house in London, besides giving it his own works. His great virtue and deserts recommended him to Henry VI., who made him one of his counsel, and appointed him at first bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Rochester, where he died in 1436. Among the great men of the time of Henry VI. an Augustinian friar of the name of Henry de Virinaria is commended in the *Cotton MSS.* (Cat. p. 53.) John Brome, reader in sacred theology and prior of the Hermit friars at Gorleston-by-Yarmouth, built a library in that house, and furnished it with the most rare books, which but for him, it is said, would have perished. He not only collected books, but spent much time in reading them, and of him it is said :

“Sedulus ætatis menses consumpsit et annos.”

He died in 1449, and was buried in his monastery. John, of Bury St. Edmunds, a hermit friar of the house at Clare, became a doctor of divinity at Cambridge, and rose to be provincial of his order in England and Ireland. Reginald Peacock, bishop, first of St. Asaph and then of Chichester, having espoused some new opinions, Bury endeavoured to confute him. He flourished in the year 1460. John Slolely, a hermit friar of Norwich, took a doctor's degree at Cambridge, and was made provincial of his order throughout England. He administered his office faithfully ; he preached frequently and with much effect to the people.

He died, and was buried in the Austin friary at Norwich, on 4th June, 1447. Bernard André, an Austin friar of Toulouse, who came to England with Henry VII., was afterwards his poet laureate, and wrote his life and many other works, some of which have lately been published by the master of the rolls. John Capgrave, a hermit friar of Canterbury, was made doctor of divinity at Oxford, and became provincial of the order throughout England. He was universally accounted a learned man, an acute philosopher, and a sound divine. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, surnamed The Good, became his patron, and took him for his confessor. Besides his commentaries on many of the books of the *Bible*, the historian and the antiquary are indebted to him for a chronicle of the kings of England and for the lives of the illustrious Henries; the latter work has lately been published under the authority of the master of the rolls. Capgrave died about the year 1464; and here we end our account of the illustrious Austin friars (which has been taken principally from the pages of Pitsæus *De Illustribus Scriptoribus*), because in that year Luther, the most renowned of all the hermit friars, was born to inflict a great blow on their order, and confer a greater benefit on mankind.

It would seem that doctor Shaw, as well as friar Penketh, his guilty companion, was from this neighbourhood, for his brother, sir Edmund, the lord mayor, who was called to his account in the same year as Penketh, left his property to the Goldsmith's company to found the now flourishing grammar school at Stockport. (*Athenæum*, 1867, p. 215.) Not one single tradition as to friar Penketh lingers about his old haunts at Warrington. If to his studious habits, and his learning and acquirements as a theologian and a disputant, which gained him his great name among scholars, he had added the knowledge of alchemy, astrology, and the black arts, which impress the popular mind, some reminiscence of him, it is probable, would have been found still lingering round his old home, even after the hand of the spoiler had long swept over its precincts. He could not say as Wolsey did,

“My robe,
And my integrity to heaven, is all
I dare now call mine own,”

for he had lost his integrity and suffered shipwreck of his fame, and in his moments of remorse and distress, and in the perplexity of his latter years, he doubtless often looked back with regret to the retired seclusion of his youth, where he had known the peace to which he was now a stranger.

But the Warrington friars had not yet lost all their friends, for on the 15th June 1504, when Gilbert Southworth of Croft, gentleman, made his will, he wrote as follows :

“I bequethe my body to be buried in the cemetare of ye church of Jhesus belonging to ye brethren of Seinte Austen, in Weryngton, and I will that an *obbet* be kepte solemply ev’ry yere by the space of V yeres aft’r my decease, and that two of ye black freers shall syng on ye daye of my decese a masse of *requiem* by notes, and say *de profundis* for my sawll, and all Cristen sawlls, and to everych of ye frerys p’sent at the *dirige* over nyght, I give viid., and one the morrowe masse iiis. to be distributed to pore peple by my executors.” (*Lancashire Chantries*, Chetham soc., vol. i. p. 65.)

On 12th August, 20 Henry VII. (1505), a scene peculiar to feudal times and to an age now long since gone by, was enacted in the friary at Warrington. Robert Fitz-William Blundell, one of sir Thomas Boteler’s retainers, then appeared at the friary to do homage to his liege lord for the lands which he held under him. Sir Thomas Boteler is seated in state in the great hall of the friary with sir William Plumtre his chaplain, Hugh Boteler his kinsman, and Thomas More and many other friends standing about him, amongst whom the prior was probably one. Robert Fitz-William Blundell, who has lately come to his inheritance, clad probably in plate and mail, enters the hall. Way is made for him through the bystanders ; he advances towards sir Thomas, lays aside his sword, unclasps his helmet, and, uncovering his head, kneels at the knight’s feet. And now, after the bailiff has thrice cried “Oyez !” he places his clasped hands

between those of sir Thomas, and repeats aloud, after the seneschal, this profession of homage : " Know ye sir Thomas Boteler, knight, my liege lord, that I, Robert, the son of William Blundell, do become your man from this day forward to the end of my days for life and members, and worldly honour, and unto you I will be faithful, and will bear true faith for the lands I hold of you, saving only the faith I owe to my sovereign lord king Henry." Sir Thomas then stooping from his seat kissed his liegeman on the cheek. Does not some portion of this ceremony recall to our minds the scene in which Eliezer placed his hand under Abraham's thigh and swore an oath to him? After he had done his homage, Robert Fitz-William Blundell placed his hands upon the Gospels, and, slowly repeating it after the seneschal, took the following oath : " I do swear that I will be true and faithful to you, sir Thomas Boteler, knight, my liege lord, and that I will bear you true faith and fealty for the lands and tenements I hold of you, and will truly do and perform the customs and services I owe you, so help me Heaven and all the saints," and then having kissed the book, he rose from his knees. The ceremony was ended, the bailiff again cried "Oyez !" and the company dispersed.

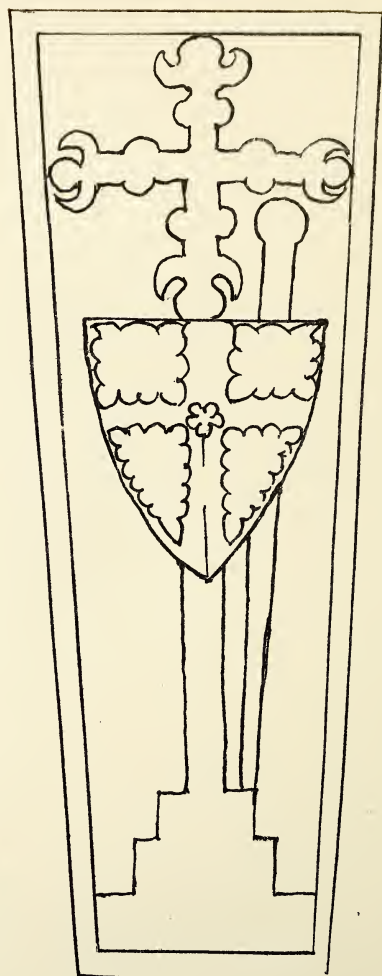
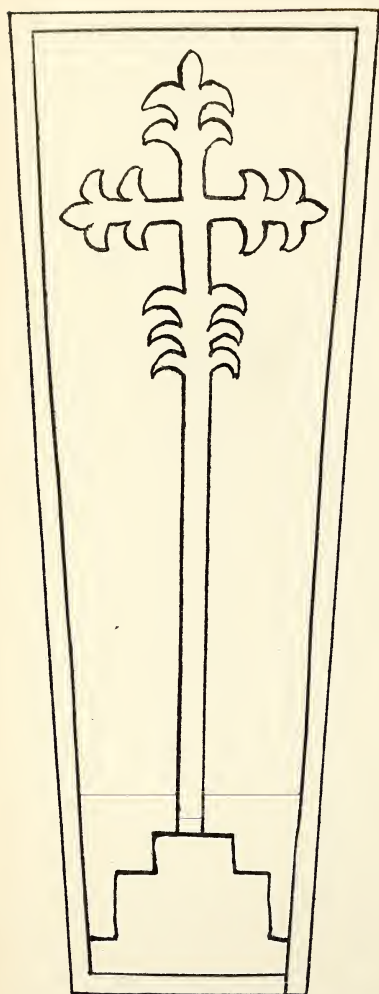
The share which Penketh had taken in furthering the dark plans of the usurper, Richard, was not calculated to silence the carpings in which, as we have seen, both the poets and the chroniclers had from time to time indulged at the expense of the mendicant orders, and we are, therefore, not surprised to find that great scholar Erasmus lifting up his voice and joining in the cry against them. In his *Praise of Folly*, amongst the severe things he says of many other professions and classes of men, he writes thus of the mendicant orders, " That though this kynde of men be commonly so abhorred as, even to meete with them at unawares it is taken for a signe of evill lucke all the daie after ; yet, heaven ! how they make themselves to be more than cherubyns. For first they hold it a great holinesse to meddle so little with bookes and learning as scarce to knowe how to reade their

own names ; and when they rore foorth (lyke a many of asses) in their monasteries a number of psalmes not understood, than they were verilie to fede saintes eares with a marvellous melodie." (*Moriæ Encomium*, translated by sir Thomas Chandler.) This work appeared in 1511, but the bounty of some testators was still directed to the Austin friars. In 1515, John Wastell, of Bury St. Edmunds, left by his will to their house at Cambridge a legacy of *xiid.* (*Athenæum*, 1850, p. 1152.) About this time sir Richard Slawright, the prior of the hermit friars at Warrington, seems to have been held in much respect, for on the 24th October in the following year, when sir Thomas Boteler, probably in the same hall where we have seen him receiving his vassal's homage, signed a receipt for a sum of money, Richard Slawright, the prior, was called in to witness it ; and the same year he was present and saw possession delivered of a house in the High street, leased by Randle Sonkey to Oliver Berdisley.

The Lestranges of Hunstanton seem at this time to have been bountiful friends to the Austin friars of that place, for their household book in the year 1520 records the gift of *lxviii. viiiid.* to the prior of that house going to the general chapter. In the same year the Warrington Austin friars, who had found their earliest friends in the Botelers of Bewsey, still retained a place in their affections ; and when sir Thomas Boteler, its then head, made his will, on 16th August 1520, he directed "x marks in money to be yeven to the pore frere howse of Waryngton towards the reparation and ornaments of the same, at the discretion of his executors," and prior Richard Slawright was again called in to witness it. Still complaints of the friars were surging against the king's gates. One of these, which is contained in a petition presented against the exactions of friars, pardoners and somners, takes the fables of king Arthur for undoubted truth, and says, "The noble Arthur had never been able to carry his army to the foot of the mountains to resist the coming down of Lucius, the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of the people."

In 13 Henry VIII. (1521) certain payments by sir Piers Legh to sir Thomas Boteler, were made on the altar of Our Lady in the friar's church at Warrington, in the presence of sir Richard Slawright, the prior.

Alice, the widow of Ralph Byrom, made her will on 26th January 1524, in which there is contained the following bequest: "I leve to the frere house of Weryngton for to pray for my soule and all Crysten soules xs." (*Lanc. and Ches. Wills*, pt. ii. p. 180.) When George Bothe, esq., of Dunham Massey, made his will on 6th October 1531, he gave by it the following legacies: "I geve to ye P'or and ye Freres of Weryngton ten shillyngs to say a trentall of masses for my soule. Item to ye same Pr'or of Weryngton towards the gildyng of Our Ladie iijs. iiijd." (*Id.* pt. i. p. 94.) Hitherto we have seen but four orders of mendicants—the Dominicans or preachers, the Minorites or Grey friars, the Carmelites or White friars, and the Augustines; but the will of sir William Fitz-William of London, in 26 Henry VIII. (1534), adds to these another order, the Crossed or Crutched friars, and gives to each order *vli.*, "to the intent they should bring forth his corpse out of the liberties of the said city, and to have in each of the said places a trentall of masses." (*Collins' Peerage*, vol. iv. p. 388.)



TOMB-STONES FROM THE FRIARY.

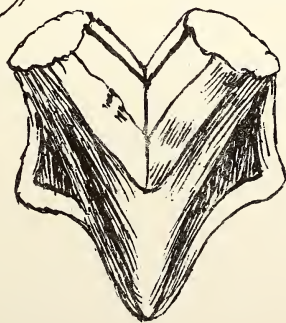
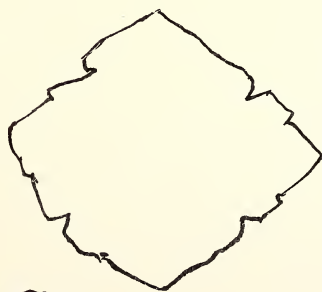
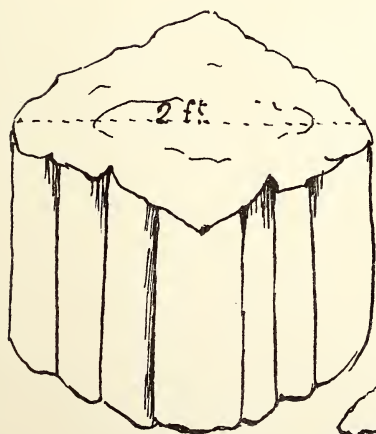
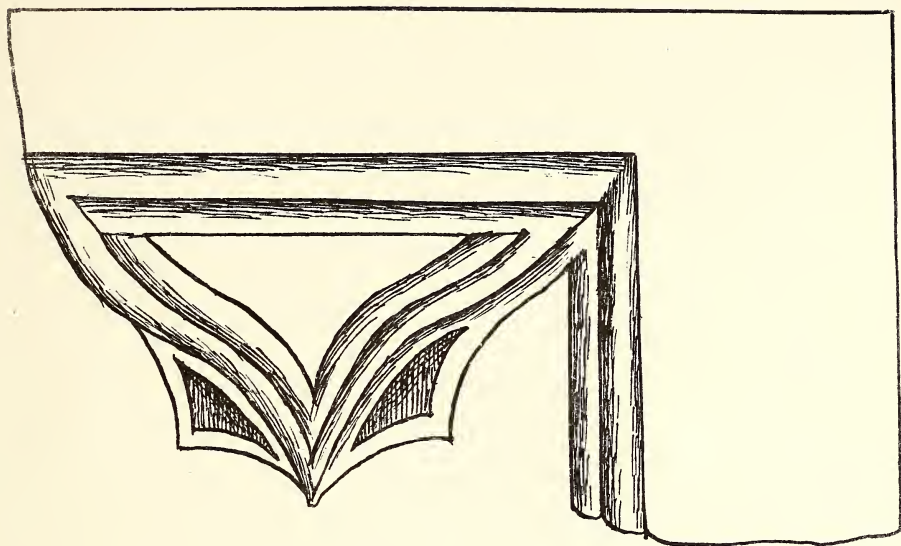
CHAPTER VI.

THE friary which had now been so long established in Warrington had used its opportunities well, and had made many friends. Like a healthy plant it had sent out its roots far and wide, and was now connected with the place by many relations which were interlaced in the soil. The Boydells, the Duttons, and some others of the gentry had founded chantries in the place, where perpetual prayers and masses were to be offered up and said for their families. The Botelers, the Torbokes, the Athertons, the Sherburnes, the Warburtons, and many others were enrolled amongst the benefactors of the house ; and amongst the names of those who had put on the friar's frock within its walls might be reckoned those of Banastre, Holland, Appleton, Eltonhed, De la Mare, Sefton, Leylond, Knowsley, Sankey, Arrowsmith, Marbury and Penketh, all members of respectable local families, who had thus given pledges of their adherence to St. Austin's rule. There were other families of some consequence in and around Warrington who had made choice of the friars' cemetery as a place in which to lay their dead. Sir William Fitz-Almeric Boteler, the patron and probable founder of the house, was buried in its church, and honoured with the effigy there which has been already described, and so also was his descendant, another sir William Boteler, who died of dysentery before the walls of Harfleur, on the eve of the battle of Agincourt. A monumental stone, now in the Warrington museum, was once placed in the friary cemetery to commemorate another of its benefactors. Upon it there is sculptured a handsome floriated cross and a knight's sword, but unfortunately there are neither

arms nor inscription upon it to give us its owner's name. The stone is about seven feet long, and about a foot and a half broad at the top, from which it gradually narrows a little to the bottom. Beneath it, when it was taken up, there was found lying in a rude coffin, hollowed out of a solid part of a tree, the skeleton of a man with a withy stick placed across his left arm. The upper part of the skull appeared to have been broken off and displaced. Willow wands, such as that found in the coffin, have been found in similar coffins elsewhere, and while the sculptured sword upon the stone and the fractured skull beneath it may be supposed to mean that the deceased was some knight or warrior who had died in battle, the willow wand in his hands may signify the palm of victory which he had acquired by his death. Amongst others who sought to lay the bones of their departed friends in the friary cemetery, in the hope, when they wrote on each *Requiescat in pace*, that they would not be vain words, as, alas! they have proved to be, were the Holcrofts, a family who took their name from a neighbouring village where they had long been settled. One of this family, probably John Holcroft, who married Margaret, the daughter of Hamlet Massy of Rixton, was commemorated in the friary cemetery by a slab, which may now be seen in the Warrington museum. Upon it there is sculptured a Calvary cross *ragulée*, with a two-handed sword by its side, and suspended from the cross a shield, having on it the Holcroft arms, *argent* a cross engrailed, *sable* within a bordure, engrailed *of the second*.

Some few other fragments of the friary also remain in the Warrington museum. One of these, a section of a pillar of the friary church, is a rude specimen of early-English work, which may be best described as a multangular column, having two of its sides less deeply channelled and moulded than the others. Another of these fragments is the upper part of the mullion of one of the church windows of Decorated work, which has cusps and is channelled to receive glass. And a third fragment is half the top of a square-headed trefoil window, of good

length 2ft 7in. ----->



FRAGMENTS from the FRIARY.

Decorated work, very like the windows taken from Runcorn church when it was rebuilt a few years ago.

In the reverend G. Piccope's family there has been preserved an ancient oak chest or coffer, which is said to have once formed part of the priory furniture. Upon this chest are carved several shields of arms, amongst which are the three falcons of the Athertons, and round the chest runs this description : "*In operibus domini credite*," which may have given rise to the tradition that it came from the friary. The chest, it appears, was purchased by its present owners at the sale of the furniture at Atherton hall, and its claim to have belonged originally to the friary seems to rest upon slender foundation.

About the end of the twelfth century, after most of the great monasteries had been founded and enriched by the piety of the times, wealth had begun to produce its usual fruits, and to make the religious more lax in their rule, and the laity more ready to believe in the efficacy of vicarious religion. The belief in the efficacy of the church's prayers and masses for the souls of their benefactors, which prayers and masses might always be purchased in some monastery for money, was then universal. The monks too greedily sought to acquire for masses and obits, and sometimes for money, the advowson or perpetual right of presentation to parish churches. Having once acquired the patronage of any living, and obtained the king's license to appropriate it, they sent one of their monks to do the duty of the church, and, after allowing him some small stipend, they applied all the rest to the purposes of the monastery. This was a two-fold evil : it substituted a hireling for the parson, and deprived the parish of the hospitality and charity, as well as example, they had a right to expect from him. Upon the religious houses, too, it had an ill effect, for it filled their coffers too full, swelled the owners with pride, encouraged extravagance in expenditure, and induced the laity to think that religion and poverty had suffered a divorce. The result of all this was that in many places the work of the church was either neglected, or performed

only in a slovenly or perfunctory manner. The revival of religion which was promised by the Austin friars and the other mendicants at their first origin was hailed with satisfaction by the people ; and when the friars arrived, they spread speedily over the land, and acquired great influence among all classes by their zeal and energy, and the light of learning by which many of them, and particularly the Augustinians, as we have seen, were from time to time distinguished. The friars had two enemies—the monks and the regular clergy—both of whom disliked them as rivals, and connived, if they did not rejoice, at the sarcasms which the chroniclers and the poets levelled at them. But as time rolled on, success made the friars remiss, and justified the satires composed at their expense. Complaints, too, were made of them by some greedy courtiers, who were awaiting the spoil, which complaints at length reached the king, and could no longer be silenced ; so that evil days were now approaching not only our ancient priory, but all similar establishments, and omens which could neither be mistaken nor averted presaged their speedy downfall. No particular account has come down to us of how or when the friary passed away from its old possessors, and consequently we do not know whether it was quietly surrendered, or whether the prior and his brethren, then probably reduced to a few in number, were forcibly driven out from their home and its gates finally closed against them, when the doom of the lesser monasteries was sealed by the passing of the Act of 27 Henry VIII. c. 28 (1536), which absolutely gave up to the king all the religious houses having a less income than 200*l.* a year. And thus the presage, penned by the poet Langland long before, was fulfilled and seemed a prophecy :

“ And ther shall come a king and confesse your religious,
And bete you as the Bible telleth for breaking of your rule.”

Of the 376 houses which were thus suppressed at a blow, Warrington friary was probably one of the smallest.

Sir Richard Slawright had probably been made general or

provincial of the order, and had ceased to be the prior of Warrington, when its fate was sealed, for the inquisition taken on 4th July 1523, after the death of his patron, sir Thomas Boteler, includes amongst his tenants the name "Ricard. Gener. Augustini," which must mean, we think, sir Richard Slawright. But whoever was the last prior, let us charitably hope that he and his few remaining brethren, when they bade farewell to their long-loved home, and "cast one longing lingering look behind," were not left to the cold but only charity allowed them by the proviso in another statute, which, while admitting their poverty, makes no provision to relieve it except the permission to beg. "Inasmuch," says this statute, "as Friars mendiantes have little or nothing to lyve uppon, but only by the charitie and almes of Xtien people, this Act shall not be p'judicial to any p'sonne for giving of y'm in gen'rl or p'ticuler any ma'ner of almes in money, vitaille, or other thing, nor to them for being out of their places, or for passing abroad to gather the almes and charitie of Christen people, or for contynuanee of their religion, as they have been accustomed to do."

For a few but only for a few years after the departure of its old inmates, the friary remained in the king's hands; but there were cormorants abroad who were hungering for the spoil, and to one of these, Thomas Holcroft, the king on the 18th June, 32 Henry VIII. (1540), granted not only the site of the Austin friary at Warrington, but also the priory of Cartmel, and several other properties of a similar kind. (Jones's *Index to the Excheq. Records*, 32 Henry VIII.) But the Reformation begun under Henry was not to proceed to the end without a check. Unawed by the example of her stern father, queen Mary would have restored the old religion and brought back the monks and friars; but, foreseeing what might come, Thomas Holcroft, now sir Thomas, who had in him more of the willow than the oak, and whose principles were of no decided colour, having obtained the place of marshal to the queen, used his influence at court so well that he obtained the queen's confirmation to him of her father's grant. (*Ib.* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary.)

But the perils that awaited the purchasers of monastic property, many and various in that age, were not yet over; and so sir Thomas Holcroft found it on the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne. He had been haunted in her sister's reign by the fear of having his illgotten possessions reclaimed by their old owners, but now, under the new queen, there was a new danger. Many persons being then suspected of holding lands to superstitious uses, commissions were issued to seize all such lands as forfeit to the crown, and, amongst others, the purchaser of the Austin friary at Warrington was summoned to show in the queen's court why he should not either give it up or produce the title by which he held it. (*Ib.* 5 Elizabeth.) As he was never dispossessed of it, however, we may presume that his title to his purchase was allowed on his showing the grant made to him by the queen's father. In the meantime sir Thomas, who had not acquired the friary to let it lie idle, but to be put to use and made merchandise of, proceeded to deal with it as if his title were indefeasible; and on the 27th September, in 35 Henry VIII. (1543), after a possession of three years, having found a purchaser to his mind, he sold the friary to one John Cawdwell for the sum of 126*l.*, and conveyed it to him by the description of:

"All that his scyt of the late house of Austen Freirs of Weryngton, w^hin the countie of Lanc^r., nowe dissolved, wth. all his messuages, housses, buyldings, barnes, stabuls, duff housses, orchards, gardens, lands, and grounds, as well w^tin as w^toute the scyte, walke, circuyte, and p^rycints of the said late housse of Austen Freirs beyng. Also one medow called Blanche Medow, contg. three acres. Also a housse called the Kylne Housse. Also a crofte, and one duffe housse thereon builded. Also too little gardens and too orchards. Also five tenements or cottages. Also one other garden, all in Weryngton, to the said housse of Austen Freirs, belongynge and apperteynyng, w^{ch}. the saide Thomas Holcroft late had of the gyfte and graunte of our souraigne lord Kyng Henry the Eighth, by his letters patent, bearyng date at Westm^r the eyghtene daye of June, in the xxxij. yere of his gracious raygne."

By this conveyance John Cawdwall covenanted

“Not to lette or interrupte the inhabitauntes of the towne of Weryngten aforesayde for the usage and occupation of the church of the late Freirs aforesayde according unto a lease thereof mayd by the sayd Thomas Holcroft unto Sir William Plumtre clerke, and also that he would suffer the said Thomas Holcroft to have the ingresse and regresse into all and singular the pr'myssees to carrie awaye all the stone walls of the sayde late Freirs whyche at thys pr'sent tyme be not covered wth. anie rouff.”

What we have to say of the lease to Plumtre we reserve to a future opportunity, but the latter part of Cawdwall's covenant suggests the thought that sir Thomas, fearful of what might follow and anxious to make money of his purchase, was unroofing the cherished home of the old friars and selling the materials, so that the former inmates might not find shelter in it, if unhappily for him they should return. After sir Thomas's death, his son and heir of both his names, who was one of the king's privy chamber, on the 7th May, 42 Elizabeth (1600), and Thomas Caldwell of Appleton, gent., sold and conveyed the site of Warrington friary to Thomas Ireland, esquire. This conveyance contains no allusion to the former reservation as to the use of the friary church, but as it contains the attornment of John Ashworth, the then rector of Warrington, who acknowledges himself to be the purchaser's tenant, it is probable that he made the attornment in consequence of being then in possession of the friary church. (*Hale Deeds.*)

A part of the property of the Warrington hermit friars, which has not been mentioned before, occurs in a deed dated so late as 20th October, 8 James I. (1610), when John Southworth of Warrington, gentleman, conveyed to Thos. Ireland, esquire, all that parcel of land and ground called “The Eremitts Yorde,” lying in Stockton, Hull, and Appleton, or any of them, in the county of Chester, then or late in the tenure, holding, or occupation of Alice Sothworth, widow, grandmother of the said John. (*Hale Deeds.*) It may be difficult to ascertain, from the extreme vague-

ness of the description of it in the above conveyance, where this property was situated. It is not improbable, however, that it was somewhere either on the bridge at Wilderspool or near the meeting of the cross roads at Stockton heath, at either of which places a friar would be advantageously placed to collect alms. Having seen the Warrington friary pass out of the hands of its old possessors and become a lay fee, we propose, before returning to the friary church, to give a few particulars of its new owner and his family.

Thomas Holcroft, the purchaser of the friary, and the wholesale dealer in the properties of the dissolved monasteries, was the second son of John Holcroft, esquire, by his wife Margaret, the daughter of Hamlet Massy of Rixton. His family had been long settled in the neighbouring hamlet of Holcroft, and one of them, Adam de Holcroft, in 1334, received the king's commands to march with horse and arms on the king's service into Scotland. (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 307.) Thomas being a younger son, and but a cadet of the house, proceeded to London to push his fortune. There the king made him one of the squires of his body, and there he married Juliana, the daughter and heiress of Nicholas Jennings, one of the aldermen of the city. His office at court gave him station, and his marriage gave him fortune, both of which he seems to have determined to use in a trading spirit. His position at court enabled him to scent from afar the coming dissolution of the religious houses, and he saw how advantageously, whenever it should happen, the alderman's money might be employed in purchasing some of the spoils. We have already seen that on the 10th March 1540, he acquired the friary at Warrington, the priory of Cartmel, and some other monastic properties. It was not out of any regard for the place of sepulture of his ancestors, still less from any reverence for religion, that he was induced to covet the possession of the friary at Warrington. Probably when he bought it no higher object was in his thoughts than to advance his fortune without caring much as to the means, which agreed well with the bird of prey on his

crest, namely, "a raven, the *dexter* claw raised and brandishing a sword *proper* pommeled *gules*." About the same time he was meditating a purchase of a monastic property far larger in extent, nothing less than the venerable abbey of Vale Royal. He had been appointed a commissioner to treat with the abbot for its surrender, and in his zeal to attain his end and obtain what he coveted he is said to have extorted, if not absolutely forged, the abbot's signature to the instrument of surrender, which, coupled with the sequel, shows with how covetous and greedy an eye he followed his trail. For three centuries the abbot of Vale Royal, in his pastoral and secluded home, had ranked with the barons of the land. He had his seneschal and under-seneschal, his page to attend his steps, and his palfrey-man to hold his horse, and at Flodden the heads of the knightly houses of Holford and Bostock had attended him and fought under his orders; but a dark cloud was now gathering over the house and soon the storm burst; the abbey was seized into the king's hands, and John Harwood, the last abbot, though he had for his seneschal no less a person than lord Cromwell himself, received "the knock of a king," which had been foretold by John Longland. On the 7th March, 33 Henry VIII. (1542), the king, in consideration of a sum of 450*l.* and a perpetual ground-rent of 3*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, granted to Thomas Holcroft in fee "the scite of the abbey of Vale Royal, with the granges of Conersley, Bradford, Ernesley and Merton, Petty Pool Hill and Dam, and Bradford Mylne, in the parish of Whitegate, Hefferston Grange and Onston Mylne in the parish of Weaverham, Ernesley House in Weaverham, and Whitegate and the Pool of Oakmere." (*Hist. Chesh.*, ii. 70, *et seq.*) In the year 1544, when the earl of Hertford marched into Scotland, Thomas Holcroft (whose ancestor Adam de Holcroft, as we have seen, made his first campaign in that country) received a command in the host, and on the 3rd May in that year, when Leith was attacked and so easily won that its panic-stricken defenders forgot their usual courage and took to flight, which gave the chronicler occasion to say of them,

“Exhorrent ut dama canes, ut cerva leones,”

Holcroft won a banneret's spurs, and became sir Thomas Holcroft, knight, but the honour fell on so many heads at the same time that its value was lessened, especially when it came in return for a victory which rather happened than was won. (Burn's *Hist. Westmoreland*, pref., lxii., lxv., lxvi., lxx.) Sir Thomas Holcroft after the purchase of Vale Royal — a purchase which the city alderman's money had helped him to make — took up his abode at the old abbey and made it his family seat. He was, however, but an unpopular successor to the abbot, and the poet's lines used on another occasion might also have been quoted in his case —

“And Hemsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a scrivener or a city knight.”

On the 13th July 1595, it was his misfortune to lose his good wife by death, but for some reason, which does not appear, she was not interred until the 25th August following, when her funeral took place at Whitegate. (*Hist. Chesh.*, ii. 70, *et seq.*) Sir Thomas, who did not long survive her, appears to have been buried at Weaverham. There is a very confused account given of him by Mr. Baines, who says that he was the *King's* receiver in 1595, a time when there was no king. (*Hist. Lanc.*, iii. 129.) He was dead before 21st September 1597, for on that day his son, of both his names, presented Hamo Percival to the vacant living of Whitegate. In the year 1600 Thomas Holcroft the son sued out a writ of *ad quod damnum* respecting a road in Over. (*Ches. Records.*) In 1603, being made a gentleman of the privy chamber, and afterwards knighted, when he became sir Thomas Holcroft the second, he was made bailiff of the honour of Halton, an office which he continued to hold until the year 1611. When the herald visited Cheshire in 1613, sir Thomas Holcroft appeared before him. He was twice married, and at the herald's visitation his son Thomas Holcroft (by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of sir Edward Fitton) who was then married to Mary,

the daughter of Henry Talbot, by whom he appears to have had issue, also appeared and was entered in family pedigree by the herald.

But Vale Royal was not destined to be long held by its new lords, the Holcrofts, who in 1616 sold it to lady Cholmondeley, "the bold lady of Cheshire," as king James called her when visiting her at Vale Royal in 1617.

CHAPTER VII.

THE friary at Warrington, after having flourished for nearly three centuries, was now fast falling to ruin. While it stood twelve or more priors in succession had ruled over the house and its cowed inmates. The names of these priors, so far as they have been recovered, appear to be as follows :

- 1265. Richard, the hermit.
William, the freeman.
Gilbert, the anchorite.
- 1332. Richard de Utrington.
- 1366. John de Knowsale.
- 1379. William de Eltonhead.
- 1394. John de Knowsley.
- 1404. Geoffrey Banastre, S.T.P.
- 1410. John Boldycar.
- 1422. Nicholas Spynk, S.T.L.
- 1482. Richard Browne.
- 1520. Sir Richard Slawright, who was afterwards provincial or general over the order of Austin friars throughout England.
- 1522. Willielmus Hermetott, who occurs amongst the tenants in sir Tho. Boteler's *Inq. p. m.*, may have succeeded Slawright as prior when the latter became general of the order.

Sir Thomas Boteler, the aged friend and patron of the house, having been called to his rest a few years before, was spared the pain of witnessing its downfall and ruin. His chaplain however, sir William Plumtre, always his faithful friend, confessor and adviser, who had probably been with him at Flodden, and by whom

he was attended when he made his will, and when he received the homage of his tenants, as well as on all other important occasions, survived him. At his patron's death sir William was rector of Thornton-le-Moors, which, according to the *History of Cheshire*, he held for more than fifty years. To the living of Warrington, which sir Thomas Boteler, "out of the good love and zeal he bore him," by his will, in which he calls him his "well-beloved chaplain," destined him to have on the next avoidance, sir William, owing to some unforeseen circumstances in his patron's family, never succeeded; and in 23 Henry VII. (1507) he was a trustee in a recovery of the Legh estates in Grappenhall, and in 1526, as executor of sir Thomas Boteler, he sued sir Thomas Southworth for detaining a casket of money. He was not rich, but he loved religion, and would make sacrifices for it for its own sake. When ruin befell the friary therefore, he was grieved to think that its ancient church, dedicated to the Redeemer, and called "Jesus Church," should cease to be the resort of living worshippers, and become desolate and desecrated. Anxious, therefore, to preserve it to its hallowed purposes, he sought and obtained, either from the king or from sir Thomas Holcroft his grantee, but more probably from the former, a lease of the ancient church of the friary. How long the lease was to last, or what were its terms, we have failed to learn; but, having obtained the lease, sir William placed in the church sir John Carlisle, a priest who had probably been the last prior of Warrington, and sir Roger Okell, who as probably was one of the few brethren of the friary at the dissolution, to carry on in it the accustomed services of the church. Though poor in worldly wealth, sir William seems to have taken upon himself the expenses of this service, and his good work it appears outlived him, and shed its radiance afterwards; for in the year 1550, after he had been dead several years, sir John Lowe occurs in a list of the clergy of the Warrington deanery as officiating on the patronage, and most probably on the stipend, of sir William Plumtre, which could only have been in the friary church. Sir

William, who had been the means of preserving the church, retained his affection for it to the end, for he remembered it, with other religious objects, by a legacy in his will. This will was made on the 15th September 1545, and as it is curious we give it at length :

"I give [he says] to Maister Boteler's chapel, within the Parish Church of Werington, vis. viij*l.*, and that to be disposed by the skolemaister ther and sir Robert Hall. To Ihesus Church at Werington, xx*s.* in money, to be warid ther by th' advise of sir John Carlile. To Maistress Clemence Hall, the salte of silver, &c., bycause halfe of the stuffe that it was bought with was herres, and besides that she shall have all her owne goodes, &c., whiche she will take upon her conscience to be herres at Hokertonne withoute lett or trouble. [From this place sir William had an annuity which had been granted him by sir Thomas Boteler ; it was near Crophill in Nottinghamshire.] To sir Robert Hall, the bookes named, *Quatuordecim Sermones*, *Ortus Vocabulorum*, and *The Shepherdes Kalender*, and the booke named *Pica*, and that to remain in Maister Boteler's chappell at Werington. To sir Roger Okell, the *Neue Testamente* in Latin, *Lilium Missæ et Pupilla oculi*. To my good maistress Elizabeth Bothe of Dunham, iij silver spoones. To Mr. Cutlier Bolde, a crowne of vs. A preste to be kepte to celebrate masse for my sawlle, my father's sawlle, and my mother's sawlle, and for the sawlles of sir Thomas Boteler and dame Margaret his wife, at Ihesus Church in Werington, for iiij yerres."

The good work of preserving and maintaining the church when the rest of the friary was destroyed, entitled sir William to the deep gratitude of his cotemporaries. By connecting sir John Carlisle with the place, and committing the fabric to him, as he does in his will, sir William probably meant posterity to infer that he was the prior of the friary at the time when the glory of the house departed, and shared in sir William's affectionate zeal for the old place. Sir Roger Okell too was probably one of the friars whom the dissolution had rendered houseless and homeless, and who loved to cling to Jesus church as to the heart of his old convent.

Over sir William Plumtre's library this inscription might very fitly have been written :

“ — Not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom.”

The list of his books gives us a glimpse of the studies of a working ecclesiastic of that day. His reading, though not extensive, seems to have been devoted to what he had to do, and to have been consistent with his sacred profession. All his books, some of which are rare and one almost unique, had reference to his duties, and show his devotion to them. Some of the books were printed, and some only in manuscript, and any of them would now be esteemed a treasure in our Warrington museum. A short account of some of them may not be wholly out of place here. The *Pica* was a liturgical book, which had been printed in 1509, and the printing type of that name is supposed to have been so called from its being first used in printing this *Pica* liturgy. (Watts's *Bibliotheca*.) Sir William's copy was probably a printed book. *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, a religious work, very different from Spenser's well-known poem of that name, was printed first in 1508 and again in 1528, by Wynkyn de Worde, “at the sygne of the sonne,” and sir William's copy of this also was almost certainly in print. What the Latin New Testament was, whether in print or in manuscript, we hardly can tell, though it was more probably a written and not a printed book, copied from the Vulgate. The *Quatuordecim Sermones* was probably the Latin treatise “On the Fourteen Beatitudes, called by theologians the Saints' Dowry, of which seven related to the body, and the like number to the soul.” This was the work of no less a personage than the celebrated archbishop Anselm. The *Pupilla oculi* was a sort of ecclesiastical *vade mecum*, professing to be necessary for all priests, especially those in England, and was written by the very learned John de Burgh,

professor of the Sacred Page, and formerly chancellor of the university of Cambridge. It treated at large of the seven sacraments, and bore the date of 1335. The *Ortus Vocabulorum* was the exceedingly rare work which was compiled and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1500. In its lengthy title the author says his book is alike necessary for teachers and scholars, and that it explains every word to be found in the Catholic *Breviloquus*, the Cornucopia, or the marrow of grammar. What the book was which sir William Plumtre in his will calls *Lilium Missæ*, though it was no doubt some work on the mass, we have not been able to learn. Compared with the library of Martin Collins, treasurer of York in 1508 (*York Wills*, Surtees soc., vol. iv. p. 279), and with that of Evesham abbey at an earlier period, which contained a map of the world, and both the *Mort d'Arthur* and the *Sangreal* (*Penwortham Priory*, Chetham soc., p. 96), sir William Plumtre's library was very small.

According to the *History of Cheshire* sir William Plumtre must have died about the 15th November 1545, for on that day William Tatton was appointed to succeed him in the rectory of Thornton-le-Moors, then vacant by his death.

Sir William's name is not a very common one, and it is remarkable therefore to find that it was borne by another sir William Plumtre, who is called one of queen Mary's old priests, and is said to have been put to death for joining in the Northern insurrection of 1569. (Sharp's *Memorials* of that rebellion, Surtees soc., pp. 133-40.)

How long the friary church continued to be used for its original purpose after the death of sir William Plumtre we have been unable to ascertain. But from one of the Boteler papers it seems certain that it was still used for worship in the year 1592; and two manuscripts in the Harleian collection, which give an account of the arms, glass, tombs and other articles in the friary church, and one of which papers was taken as late as 1640, render it probable that the church was even then not deserted by living worshipers. (*Harl. MSS.*, 139, fo. 22; 2,129, fo. 188.)

But long after these had deserted it, its cemetery was selected as a favourite resting-place for the dead, if we may judge from the great number of bodies of all ages and both sexes, which from time to time have been discovered on the site. We may be pardoned if we regret that the ancient church of the friary, which had some noticeable architectural features and a cloud of archæological associations, has not remained to our time to supply the need there is of additional places of worship in Warrington to meet the wants of its greatly increased and increasing population.

The ancient gateway of the friary remained standing to nearly the close of the last century, but it was then removed, and with it disappeared the last vestige of the fabric of Warrington friary.

It is with great institutions as with oaks—they take a century to grow, a century to flourish in vigour, and a third century to decay, the roots being the last to die. It was so with the mendicant orders, especially the Austin friars, the most learned of them all. Riches and luxury had relaxed the rule of the great religious houses, and their example had rendered the secular clergy lax in their duties, when the mendicants came in and created a revival of religion. For a century they grew in importance and activity, and increased in numbers. Their very name introduced them to some classes of the people who were till then unreached. At this time they were active and did a good work. Then came a century of success, which insensibly brought in corruption. Another century saw their vigour decline and decay; and corruption, which began with their chief men, like friar Penketh the provincial of his order, helped to bring on the dissolution of his and of all the mendicant orders. Of the great parent house of the Austin friars in London, an historian writes thus :

“It continued to flourish for a time as one of the great humanisers which prevented mediæval society from becoming a scene of riot and misrule. It was from such walls as these that the mighty reason emanated which gave the times all that they possessed of learning, refine-

ment, and moral excellence. It was here that the various and discordant elements could, and did, unite, and where men could meet on one common ground—the ground of Christian brotherhood. Within these walls was one or more of the recognized masters in the sciences then known. Either the prior or one of the brethren was a man of celebrity, a professor at Oxford, a renowned controversialist, or an admired preacher. The Austin friary in London was thus the centre of artistic, intellectual, and pious effort, and the very name of this beautiful house was synonymous with influences that largely contributed to illuminate and dignify the age.” (Rev. Thomas Hugo’s *Lecture* on “The Austin Friars.”)

But there is ever an arrow ready on the string when a great purpose requires it. The monasteries, religious houses and mendicant orders, having done their work, had grown old and declined, and were now to be superseded by another agency, which should purify the faith from its abuses, reform the church and rouse the sleeping energies of religion to new effort. In this emergency appeared Luther, “the solitary monk who shook the world.” He was a man equal to the occasion for which he was raised up, and taking a slight liberty with the poet’s words, it may be truly said of him that he soon

“Shook the arsenal, and fulmin’d over *Rome!*”

Instead of mourning then over the departure of the religious houses and institutions which were fitted for those other ages in which they arose and lived, and which perished when they had accomplished their purpose and communicated their partial knowledge, let us, with our greater privileges and more abundant light, rejoice and give thanks that the old pageant has passed away, and that to us has been granted a religious light and liberty which former ages never knew.

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